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Students of history are generally familiar with the early nineteenth-century German historian and philosopher Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel and his dialectic concept of history that holds the process or progress of history is the result of conflict. The terms *thesis*, *antithesis*, and *synthesis* have been used to describe the process of an existing idea or movement—the thesis, coming in conflict with another idea or movement—the antithesis, with the result being a new synthesis that will become the thesis as it encounters yet another antithesis in the progress of history. The articles in this issue of *Utah Historical Quarterly* seem to illustrate, at least to some degree, the viability of Hegel's idea as they describe circumstances and points of conflict that caused change and adaptation for earlier generations of Utahns.

The idea and practice of smoke farming is likely to raise questions of why and how. Our first article presents an intriguing examination of the conflict between Utah farmers and smelter operators and the surprising result as smelter wastes were converted to fertilizers and the scientific agricultural practices implemented on smelter-owned experimental farms all led to significant changes in Utah agriculture. This article reminds us of the environmental hazards that accompanied Utah's early smelting industry, the conflicting priorities between farmers and smelter operators, and how, out of this dialectic, unforeseen adaptations and improvement occurred.

In our second article, which examines Chinese life in late nineteenth-century



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Salt Lake City, the clash of two peoples—described as white and Chinese—and how it played out on the streets of downtown Salt Lake City. In a sense, it is as though peoples from two different planets with little understanding of each other came to occupy the same physical space. The degree to which these two groups could accommodate in matters of race, space, and life illustrates age old issues and conflicts which are likely to always be fundamental in our human story.

Another figure in late nineteenth-century Utah history, Abiel Leonard, the subject of our third article, was a man whose nearly sixteen year ministry as Episcopalian Bishop of Utah, fell between those of two giants of the Utah and national Episcopal church—Daniel S. Tuttle (1867-1883) and Franklin Spenser Spalding (1903-1914). Nearly forgotten to history, Leonard, nevertheless, worked with care and dedication to provide the sacraments of baptism and confirmation to hundreds, extend the church's work among Native Americans, provide support and guidance for clergy under his authority, find common ground with leaders of other denominations, and to expand the Utah Episcopalian institutions of St. Mark's Hospital, Rowland Hall School, and St. Mark's Cathedral.

Our final article, centered in the difficult days of the Great Depression, examines one group's disillusionment with Franklin D. Roosevelt's programs that led to the endorsement for Union Party candidate William Lemke's placement on the 1936 presidential ballot in Utah. The old age pension initiative, supported by Lemke and the Union Party, offered an attractive solution to Utah's senior citizens who struggled with the double burden of high unemployment and latent age-discrimination during the 1930s.

This issue, then, offers a hearty and varied menu of substantial history that considers issues of environment, agriculture, industry, race, discrimination, society, religion, politics, and elections all spiced with a good dose of conflict.

OPPOSITE AND ABOVE: Photographs of two different Chinese dragons that participated in July 24th parades in Salt Lake City.

ON THE COVER: St. Mark's Hospital Nurses.



Smoke Farming: Smelting and Agricultural Reform in Utah, 1900-1945

By MICHAEL A. CHURCH

Late in the summer of 1934, in a region bordering the western slope of the Wasatch Mountains in Utah, a honeybee buzzed and played erratically about a field of blooming alfalfa. Alighting on blossom after blossom, the bee was collecting nectar from the purple, pod-like flowers and inadvertently pollinating the crop. Since 1900, the growth of the bee industry in the state had benefited many farmers and fruit growers. The bees' thorough pollination of farm and fruit crops led to substantial increases in crop yield in many cases. But in 1934 bees in the alfalfa blossoms died. The buzzing that so pleased the beekeeper and the farmer stopped and not only in the alfalfa fields but in a number of cereal and vegetable crops, and especially in the fruit orchards. These losses of fruit and crop yields continued until a dramatic loss of honeybees in the summer of 1938, totaling 95 percent of the bee colonies in some counties, prompted the State Beekeepers Association to demand a thorough investigation, which began in 1940.¹

Wheat field near Tooele belonging to the International Smelting and Refining Company, July 10, 1915.

Already the 1930s had proven a difficult

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¹ William Peterson, "History of Agriculture in Utah," in *Utah: A Centennial History* (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1949), 173-74. A. P. Sturtevant, et al., "A Further Report of Investigations of the Extent and Causes of Heavy Losses of Adult Honeybees in Utah" unpublished report, 1945, William L. Moran Papers, Utah State Historical Society.

decade for the Utah farmer. Severe drought and falling commodity prices plagued Utah's agriculture industry as they had farming and rural businesses throughout the nation. In addition, insect pests such as the codling moth and alfalfa weevil were causing substantial damage to crops. Since the late nineteenth century, Utah agriculturists were being pressured on a number of fronts to commercialize the agricultural industry, and controlling insect pests became a central part of that effort. By 1910, local agricultural scientists began campaigning extensively for the use of arsenic-based agricultural sprays, like lead arsenate, which proved a relatively cheap, quick, and effective remedy to the pest problem.

Simultaneous with these developments, the consolidation of Utah's lead and copper smelting industry around 1900 brought dramatic demographic and environmental changes to the region. Chief among these changes was the introduction of industrial wastes on a scale previously unknown to Utah's predominantly rural communities. When considered in the context of the state's commercializing agricultural industry, this increase of industrial wastes provides a crucial key to the Utah beekeepers' problem and underscores the importance of an emerging local economy linking arsenic-based pesticides and arsenic-based industrial wastes. This article examines the complex intercourse between farmers, smelter-men, and agricultural scientists over smelter created pollution and its associated waste products in the Salt Lake and Tooele valleys during the first four decades of the twentieth century.

The introduction of lead and copper smelting to the fertile lands along the Jordan River south of Salt Lake City began as early as the 1870s with the construction of the Southern Utah Railroad in the valley. These early smelting operations were small, independent, locally owned, and situated adjacent to many small farms and pasturelands. One estimate totaled thirty-four operating smelting plants in the valley in 1880. Local residents' complaints of the smelters were common, even in this early period.²

The significant legal conflicts over toxic emissions from nonferrous mineral smelters operating in the Salt Lake Valley were largely a reaction to the rapid consolidation and growth of the smelting industry following Utah's statehood. In 1899 a newly formed national smelting trust—the American Smelting & Refining Company (ASARCO)—began consolidating the valley's smelting operations as it was doing elsewhere in the West. ASARCO sought to eliminate competition in the industry by acquiring all of the principal smelting operations in the United States. Already an important center for custom smelting, the Salt Lake Valley, with its central location in

² For the early history of smelting in the Salt Lake Valley see: Edgar M. Ledyard, "Early Mining and Smelting South of Salt Lake City," *Ax-I-Dent-Ax*, 16 (May 1931); Wilbur H. Smith, "Smelters in Utah, 1854 to Present," (unpublished typescript, Wilbur H. Smith Papers, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah, 1978). Estimate of early smelter sites taken from Elroy Nelson, "The Mineral Industry: A Foundation of Utah's Economy," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 31 (Summer 1963): 182. For examples of early complaints against the smelters see *American Eagle* (Murray, Utah), September 4, 1897.

the West, its close proximity to three prominent mining camps (Tintic, Park City, and Bingham), and easy access to transcontinental railways, proved an ideal location for ASARCO's operations. By 1906 only five mineral reduction plants remained along the Jordan River approximately eight to ten miles south of Salt Lake City (see Table 1).³

While the number of plants operating in the Salt Lake Valley sharply declined, both ASARCO and its competitor, the United States Smelting & Refining Company (USSRCO), built new, larger plants that dramatically increased the roasting capacity of the local industry. In 1902 ASARCO erected a lead smelter on the eastern bank of the Jordan River near Murray. That same year, USSRCO established a lead smelter also on the east bank of the Jordan River at Bingham Junction (later Midvale) about three miles south and west of the ASARCO site. A copper smelter was built at the site four years later. Fervent competition for regional ore contracts between these two smelter giants tended to keep prices down, which appealed greatly to the mining companies of the region. The presence of two other smelters in the Murray area, the Utah Consolidated's Highland Boy and the Bingham Consolidated, intensified the rivalry among the smelting companies. Altogether, these five plants, two lead and three copper, increased the amount of nonferrous ores smelted in the Salt Lake Valley twenty-fold—from 288 tons of ore smelted daily in 1871 to more than six thousand tons in 1906. All of the smelters were operating “with little or no regard for the recovery of fume or dust” (see Table 2).⁴

Table 1
Operating non-ferrous smelters,
Salt Lake region, 1906

Name	Location	Class	Capacity
ASARCO	Murray	Lead	1500
Bingham Cons.	Murray	Copper	1000
USSRCO	Bingham Junction	Copper	1000
USSRCO	Bingham Junction	Lead	1500
Highland Boy	Murray	Copper	1000'

**Operating nonferrous smelters,
Salt Lake region, 1906. This table
is from Ernest Thum, “Smoke
Litigation in Salt Lake Valley,”
Chemical & Metallurgical
Engineering (June 23, 1920):
1145. Capacity shown is in tons.**

³ “Smelting Plants in Utah,” *Engineering & Mining Journal*, (July 15, 1911): 102; Isaac F. Marcossan, *Metal Magic: The Story of the American Smelting & Refining Company* (New York: Farrar, Straus, 1949); James E. Fell, *Ores to Metals: The Rocky Mountain Smelting Industry* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979), 225-54.

⁴ See Courtney De Kalb, “Smelting Conditions at Salt Lake,” *Mining & Scientific Press*, (January 2, 1909): 23; Walter Renton Ingalls, “Lead and Copper Smelting at Salt Lake - I,” *Engineering & Mining Journal*, (September 21, 1907): 527-31; Ernest Thum, “Smoke Litigation in Salt Lake Valley,” *Chemical & Metallurgical Engineering* (June 23, 1920): 1145.

This dramatic increase in roasting capacity led to an equally dramatic rise in the smelters' toxic emissions. The smelting of sulfur-bearing lead and copper ores released into the atmosphere a number of heavy metal dusts (such as lead and arsenic) as well as sulfur dioxide gas in large quantities. Estimates in 1904 measured the sulfur

dioxide emissions alone at more than three thousand pounds daily. Once in the air, the sulfur dioxide gas reacted with moisture to produce sulfuric acid resulting in what we now call "acid rain." Falling on the surrounding homes and fields, these airborne smelter wastes burned and poisoned farmers' crops and stock.⁵

In 1904 David McCleery and several other farmers in the Salt Lake Valley brought and won the first smoke nuisance case, *McCleery v. Highland Boy*, against the Highland Boy smelter. Encouraged by this victory, 409 other local farmers and residents brought a second suit (*Godfrey v. ASARCO*) the following year against all of the valley's smelters. This case sought an injunction on smelting operations for claimed damages to more than

Table 2

Operating non-ferrous smelters,
Salt Lake region, 1914

Name	Location	Class	Capacity
ASARCO	Murray	Lead	2000
USSRCO	Midvale	Lead	1250
GSCO	Garfield	Copper	5000
ISRCO	Tooele	Copper	1250
ISRCO	Tooele	Lead	1250 ^a

Operating nonferrous smelters, Salt Lake region, 1914. This table is from International Mining Manual (Denver: Western Mining Directory Co., 1914): 299-300. Capacity shown is in tons.

⁵ *Deseret Evening News*, Sept. 5, 1904; M. L. Quinn, "Early Smelter Sites: A Neglected Chapter in the History and Geography of Acid Rain in the United States," *Atmospheric Environment* 23 (1989): 1281-92. The best description of the cause of the early Salt Lake Valley damage appears in John Widtsoe, "The Relation of Smelter Smoke to Utah Agriculture," *The Agricultural College of Utah, Bulletin*, 88 (1903). See also, *Godfrey v. American Smelting Refinery Co.*, 158 F. Rep. 227 (D. Utah 1907), (hereafter cited as *Godfrey v. ASARCO*).

⁶ *Godfrey v. ASARCO*: 225; For the relative position and importance of mining and agricultural industries in Utah's economy see: Thomas G. Alexander, "Integration into the National Economy, 1896-1920," in *Utah's History*, Richard D. Poll, ed. (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1989) and Rolland A Vandegrift and Assoc., *The Economic Dependence of the Population of Utah*, Salt Lake City, Utah (May 15, 1929), 4-5. *McCleery et al. v. Highland Boy*, Fed. Reg. (June 10, 1904). The number of plaintiffs given here under estimates the true extent of the conflict since it does not include out of court settlements. For example, see the Utah Bee Keepers' settlement, *Deseret Farmer* (April 13, 1907). For a more detailed description of these early developments see: Brian P. Winterowd, "An Early Environmental Struggle: Pollution and the Murray Smelters, 1900-1910," (unpublished seminar paper, 1976, Wilber H. Smith Papers, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah); John Lamborne and Charles Peterson, "Substance of the Land: Agriculture v. Industry in the Smelter Cases of 1904 and 1906," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 53 (Fall 1985): 314-28.



International Smelting and Refining Company hay stack near Tooele, July 3, 1916.

claiming pollution controls to be commercially unfeasible, sought to protect their right to operate despite the damage caused.⁷

On November 5, 1906, Salt Lake's federal district court judge John Marshall supported the farmers' appeal for an injunction and forced the smelters to implement pollution controls they had refused to apply voluntarily. The Highland Boy and Bingham Consolidated smelters discontinued their operations in the Salt Lake Valley entirely, leaving control of the local industry to the two largest smelters, ASARCO and USSRCO. Both of these smelters closed briefly and then reopened after applying the necessary pollution controls.⁸

American Smelting and Refining Company immediately began constructing a filtration system called a "baghouse." The baghouse was the most common pollution abatement system for smelters at the time. The smelter's gas and metal laden emissions passed from the blast furnace into a flue and then through a series of canvas filters that removed lead, arsenic, and other solid particles. This system allowed the company to reuse the recovered solid wastes in its operations or sell the wastes to a variety of manufacturers

⁷ "Farmer v. Miner," *Mining & Scientific Press* April 24, 1909: 567; ASARCO. v. Godfrey, 225 *Deseret Evening News* October 20, 1904; *Salt Lake Herald* October 21, 1904; "Smelter Smoke Question in Utah," *Engineering & Mining Journal* (December 8, 1906): 1077; "Notes on Smoke Suits," *Mining & Scientific Press* (July 20, 1907): 90; "Smelter Smoke, with a discussion of methods for lessening its injurious effects," *Mining & Scientific Press* (November 23, 1907): 649.

⁸ See *Godfrey v. ASARCO*: 241 for original decree entered by J. Marshall November 5, 1906. Marshall's decision enjoined each company from smelting ores with a sulfur content exceeding 10 per cent, and from discharging arsenic in the form of small particles into the atmosphere. The decree was open to modification, however, if any company could show that they could alter their operations so that injury would not occur. USSRCO's copper smelter would not resume operations until after 1910 due to complications with the implementation of a baghouse filtration system. See *Engineering & Mining Journal* (January 8, 1910): 91; Thum, "Smoke Litigation" 1145.

on the open market. Because economic efficiency was the primary objective of all plant operations, ASARCO eventually sold the recovered chemical wastes to defray pollution control expenses. Future smelters in the region would follow this practice as well, and ultimately several smelters would begin manufacturing and distributing their own chemical products.⁹

Between 1906 and 1910, and simultaneous with *Godfrey v. ASARCO*, two other smelters began operating in the valley. In August 1905, ASARCO began constructing a copper smelter at Garfield, located between the southernmost shore of the Great Salt Lake and the northernmost point of the Oquirrh Mountains near the Salt Lake and Tooele county line. Allowed to operate outside of the pollution controls imposed on the Salt Lake smelters, ASARCO chose this site largely because of its remoteness from farms and urban centers.¹⁰

An immediate reduction in the roasting capacity of the Salt Lake smelting industry was a direct result of the Godfrey litigation. In response to this reduction, the Anaconda Copper Company (operating under the name of International Smelting & Refining Company or ISRCO) began constructing a copper smelter in 1908 just west of the Oquirrh Mountains about five miles east of the town of Tooele. The company added a lead smelter in 1915. Like the Garfield Smelting Company, ISRCO was able to operate outside of the initial pollution controls imposed on the Salt Lake smelters by locating its smelter near the Oquirrh Mountains where Pine Canyon in particular provided a buffer zone for its toxic emissions.¹¹

By 1908 following *Godfrey v. ASARCO*, all of the remaining smelters in the Salt Lake valley had improved their operations considerably by filtering and recovering their wastes or relocating to less populated areas. Still, damages and farmers' appeals for reparations continued.¹² Individual farmers and farmers' associations filed significant suits against the smelting companies in 1910, 1912, 1915, and 1916.¹³ The most significant case, *Anderson v.*

⁹ *Engineering & Mining Journal* (February 22, 1907); Thum, "Smoke Litigation," 1145; G. B. Hansen, "Industry of Destiny: Copper in Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 31 (Summer 1963): 227.

¹⁰ *Salt Lake Tribune* December 30, 1906; "American Smelting & Refining Company (Murray Plant), and Garfield Smelting Company (Garfield Plant)," an ASARCO promotional pamphlet (Salt Lake City: ASARCO, 1914); Marcossan, *Metal Magic*, 79 and 259; T. A. Rickard, *The Utah Copper Enterprise*, (San Francisco: Abbott Press, 1919), 81.

¹¹ *Engineering & Mining Journal* (April 20, 1910): 900; *The Mining World* (November 19, 1910): 943; *Salt Lake Mining Review* (November 15, 1910): 20.

¹² As early as 1910, the "farmers' committee" in *Godfrey v. ASARCO* notified ASARCO with a letter of their intent to reopen court proceedings, citing the Murray plant for numerous violations of the earlier decree, and noting that "on visits of inspection, the smeltery was found to be operating twice in accordance with the decree, and fifteen times contrary to it." See *Engineering & Mining Journal* (April 9, 1910): 789.

¹³ *Ibid.* On March 21, 1910, filing in the federal district court of Utah, Walter Steadman, a farmer in the Granger district, and thirteen others claimed damages to their crops and livestock earlier in 1908 and 1909 from the GSCO smelter. Immediately after opening in 1910, the ISRCO smelter also began to settle damage claims with local farmers through cash settlements. By 1915 local farmers requested property tax reductions from Tooele County as a result of lower value of their farms and pastures due to smelter pollution. See Ouida Blanthorn, *A History of Tooele County*, (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society and Tooele County Commission, 1998), 212-19. For further discussion of this smelter and its conflict with local farmers see *Mining, Smelting, and Railroad in Tooele County* (Tooele: Tooele County Historical Society, 1986): 71-81, 105-112.



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International Smelting and Refining Company farm near Tootle, August 19, 1918.

over scientific evidence and authority in the Anderson lawsuit. Prompted by the smelters' defeat in *Godfrey v. ASARCO* and the continued threat of injunction from the valley's farmers, all four smelters (ASARCO, USSRCO, GSCO, ISRCO) turned increasingly toward scientific arguments for their operations as their only means of combating the continued damage claims. In its attempt to expand its scientific and technological capital, ASARCO established a Department of Smoke Investigations and a Department of Agriculture near its lead smelter at Murray. Vying to protect its numerous plants in other states from similar damage claims, ASARCO initiated the most extensive scientific research into the nature of crop damage by sulfur dioxide during the first half of the twentieth century. The company's research established the standard of evidence upon which many subsequent cases would be conducted.¹⁴

¹⁴ In the Salt Lake Valley, the Riverside Dairy & Stock Farm filed proceedings against ASARCO in 1912 for claimed damages in the previous year. In both *Koompin v. ASARCO* (1915), and *Anderson v. ASARCO* (1916) farmers claimed damages from the smelters' smoke during the previous three years. See *Engineering & Mining Journal*, April 9, 1910; A. Street, "Damage Control by Smoke or Fumes," *Engineering & Mining Journal* February 17, 1917; "American Smelting Wins Another Smoke Case," *Salt Lake Mining Review*, October 30, 1916; *The Riverside Dairy Co. v. American Smelting*, 236 F. Rep. 510 (D. Utah 1916); *Anderson v. American Smelting*, 265 F. Rep. 928 (hereafter referred to as *Anderson v. ASARCO*); *Riverside Dairy v. ASARCO* initially ruled for the plaintiff but was reversed on appeal in the circuit court in October 1916. In *Koompin*, the court decided against the plaintiff citing "no cause for action" in December 1916. See *Anderson v. ASARCO*, 930.

¹⁵ ASARCO alone controlled "in trust" smelting operations in six western states, in New Jersey, and in Mexico. By the early 1920s its holdings would increase considerably to include plants in Idaho, Texas, and Washington. See A. R. Dunbar, ed., *International Mining Directory* (Denver: Western Mining Directory Co., 1903), and *International Mining Manual* (1914) for ASARCO's and USSRCO's national and international holdings. See also Horace Daniel Marucci, "The American Smelting and Refining Company in Mexico, 1900-1925" (Ph. D. diss., Rutgers University, 1995). ASARCO modeled its research program after the meticulous research methods established by the Selby Commission in 1913. For more on the Selby Commission see Ligon Johnson, "History and Legal Phases of the Smelting Smoke Problem - I,"

On their behalf, the farmers' committee retained the services of George J. Peirce, professor of botany at Stanford University. Peirce and a colleague from Stanford, J. P. Mitchell, made thorough surveys of the vegetation of the Salt Lake Valley in 1907, 1910, and 1914-15. Their findings formed the core of the farmers' evidence against the smelters in *Anderson v. ASARCO*. In his "Report on the Injury to Vegetation due to Smelter Smoke in the Salt Lake Valley, Utah," Peirce denounced the smelters as "trespassing neighbors" violating the farmer's "natural right" to cultivate the soil at a profit. Peirce concluded that the sulfur dioxide "can be controlled" but saw the smelters as refusing to do so on account of the considerable cost involved.¹⁶

The primary problem concerned sulfurous gasses. The abatement controls implemented through the *Godfrey* decree focused largely on the recovery of the dusts and trace metals in the fume through electrical precipitation and/or baghouse filtration systems. These operations cleansed the sulfurous gasses of their smoky appearance and rendered the emissions from the smelters' stacks nearly invisible, but allowed the release of large amounts of sulfur dioxide gas to continue.¹⁷

Two primary methods were available for abating the harmful effects of the gases. The first sought to recover the waste sulfur dioxide through the production of sulfuric acid, which could then be marketed to a wide variety of industries for use in various commercial products. The second method aimed at dispersing the gases into the air so they would never reach harmful concentrations in any one area. Though the GSCO smelter instituted the first approach with its creation of the Garfield Chemical and Manufacturing Corporation in 1915, this method was not widely practiced in the American West and the problem of gas diffusion rather than acid production commanded the attention of the majority of the regions' smelters.¹⁸

Engineering & Mining Journal, (May 1917); A. E. Wells, "Results of Recent Investigations of the Smelter Smoke Problem," *Industrial and Engineering Chemistry* 9 (1917): 641; Robert Swain, "Smoke and Fume Investigations: A Historical Review," *Industrial and Engineering Chemistry* 41 (1949): 2386; and John D. Wirth, *Smelter Smoke in North America: The Politics of Transborder Pollution* (Lawrence.: University Press of Kansas, 2000), 46-48.

¹⁶ By this time, Peirce was an experienced research scientist familiar with the effects of smelter and other smoke on vegetation. See *American Men of Science: A Biographical Dictionary*. 7th ed. s.v. "Peirce, Prof. G(eorge) J(ames)."; Swain, "Smoke and Fume," 2385; Donald MacMillan, *Smoke Wars: Anaconda Copper, Montana Air Pollution, and the Courts, 1890-1920* (Helena: Montana Historical Society Press, 2000) and George J. Peirce, "Report on the Injury to Vegetation due to Smelter Smoke in the Salt Lake Valley, Utah in 1915," (1915), 41, George J. Peirce Papers, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah.

¹⁷ Johnson, "History and Legal Phases - I," 879-80; Wells, "Recent Investigations," 641; Swain, "Smoke and Fume," 2386.

¹⁸ A. E. Wells, metallurgist for the United States Bureau of Mines, stated in an account of smelter research at this time, abatement through acid production was not the industry's primary focus: "Two of the largest copper smelters of the west, namely Anaconda and Garfield [GSCO], have recently made heavy investments in acid plants. However, many plants are situated at such great distances from the markets for [acid based] products that only a comparatively small amount of the available sulphur dioxide can be utilized. It is recognized that although the amount of the waste sulphur gases that will be utilized on commercial products will be steadily increasing, yet for many years to come the smelters will be obliged to waste large quantities of sulphur dioxide into the atmosphere. Thus, investigations are in progress to deter-

To facilitate research of crop damage, ASARCO established several extensive experimental farms in the vicinity of its smelters. These farms typically consisted of a few hundred acres of land situated within the smoke stream emanating from smelter stacks. The smelter's agricultural researchers divided the land into small individual plots where every kind of commercial and garden crop grown in the region was cultivated. Wood framed cabinets covered with thin sheets of celluloid were set over the test plots and then large fans blew smelter fume over the plants, fumigating them with sulfur dioxide under controlled light, temperature, and humidity conditions. Each fumigated plot was measured against a "check plot" left free of the gasses. In 1915 alone, ASARCO conducted more than three thousand five hundred experimental farm plots in the Salt Lake Valley.¹⁹

Through this research, ASARCO scientists were able to correlate sulfur dioxide damage to vegetation according to four environmental factors: (1) temperature above 40 degrees Fahrenheit, (2) relative humidity above 70 percent, (3) wind prevalency at three hours or more, (4) sunlight. These four factors constituted the critical weather conditions during which, if all were to appear coincidentally, damage was most likely to occur with sulfur dioxide levels at or above one part per million parts of air. Sulfur dioxide concentrations under that level, researchers asserted, would do no harm to plants, even during those periods in which conditions were most favorable for damage. These findings initiated an intense effort on the part of ASARCO's smelter managers at Murray to record weather conditions at all hours of the day and night around the smelter and within the "smoke paths" defined by the smelter's fume. When the four critical conditions favorable for damage appeared together, the smelter would halt operations until those conditions passed, lowering the concentrations of sulfur dioxide in the air below the amount favorable to bleaching.²⁰ Both USSRCO and ISRCO followed ASARCO's model for scientific mitigation of smelter smoke conflicts, though on a less dramatic scale.²¹

Yet negotiating a definition of damage was far more difficult than this

mine how, under different climatic and topographic conditions, these volumes of sulphur dioxide...can be discharged into the atmosphere without causing injury to vegetation in the surrounding country." Wells, "Recent Investigations," 640. See also *The Salt Lake Mining Review* 17 (Dec. 1915): 9-11, and Swain, "Smoke and Fume," 2387-88.

¹⁹ Wells, "Recent Investigations," 641; Thum, "Smoke Litigation," 1145-47. Additional published accounts of the experiment stations include: Johnson, "History and Legal Phases of the Smelting Smoke Problem - II," *Engineering & Mining Journal* (May 1917): 924-26; Swain, "Smoke and Fume," 2384-88; John D. Wirth, *Smelter Smoke*, 46-48.

²⁰ Wells, "Recent Investigations," 642-43. At night, however, the smelters ran at far higher levels of SO₂ output, since the vegetation was more resistant at that time. These operations comprised ASARCO's "sea captain theory" of damage control. See Swain, "Smoke and Fume," 2386.

²¹ For instance, ISRCO established its own weather station with various recording instruments in 1910 six months before opening its plant, and by 1916 cultivated hundreds of acres of cropland around their smelter to measure their impact on the local vegetation. One author stated, "the [International] smelter went to great lengths to make sure local farmers either would not, or could not, sue for damages. Weather stations, agricultural surveys, land options and outright purchase helped to protect the plant from the smoke farmers." See *Mining, Smelting, and Railroad in Tooele County*, 106-07, 111.

portrait would suggest. For the smelters, only “visible” alterations in the appearance of a plant were accepted as damage and, hence, only that level of sulfur dioxide necessary for producing “visible” damage was considered pollution. Further, according to ASARCO researchers, there was no discernible difference between visible sulfur dioxide “blea-



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ching” and damage resulting from other causes such as insects or disease. On the other hand, Professor Peirce held that chronic exposure of vegetation to even extremely low levels of sulfur dioxide would decrease the plant’s ability to manufacture its own food and thus result in a measurable decrease in crop yield, or “invisible injury.” These opposing perceptions of damage would reside at the center of all future negotiations between farmers and smelter operators over claims for damages to farm crops, and eventually lead the smelter operators to establish their own agricultural extension programs.²²

IRSCO’s Agricultural Department staff assay one of their oat fields for comparison with local farmers’ oat yields just west of their smelter near Tooele, Utah, June 1916.

The insistence of the ASARCO researchers that “invisible injury” did not exist pointed, for Peirce, to a “fundamental error” in the entire research program at the Murray research station. Although advocates of the ASARCO investigations pointed out that each experimental plot fumigated with sulfur dioxide was carefully checked against a plot not so fumigated, for Peirce, this was clearly not true. He claimed that since all of the experimental plots were located within the vicinity of the smelter, all of the plants were “more or less polluted with SO_2 .” In addition, Peirce routinely criticized the smelters’ officials’ dramatic displays of scientific authority as coercive exhibitions of economic power. Peirce considered the tremendous economic disparity between the farmers and the smelters to be a formative

²² *Anderson v. ASARCO*, 933-5; Peirce, “Report on the Injury,” (1915): 40. In this case only correlative factors, such as the geographic position of crops relative to the smelters and recorded climatic data and gas levels, could indicate whether damage could possibly be attributable to smelter emissions

influence in the outcome of this conflict and saw the smelters' owners' claims to scientific authority as a pretense for ignoring the damage. Condemning the ASARCO studies in his reports, Peirce wrote:

All that the Experimental Farms now show, so far as I am aware, is that at a cost which the average farmer cannot undertake, certain plants may be made to yield so and so much *in spite of atmospheric pollution*. The average farmer obtains lower yields. His skill is undeniably less, in most instances, than that of the staff of the Experimental Farms; so also is his investment. But he is nonetheless entitled to the fruits of his labor untressed-passed upon by his neighbor."²³

Salt Lake's federal district judge Tillman Johnson did find the smelters at fault in a few instances. Ultimately, however, he decided in favor of ASARCO's narrow definition of "visible" damage, precluding the far more pervasive injuries described by Peirce and demonstrating the ultimate success of the smelters' scientific research programs to the Anderson case.²⁴ But to Judge Johnson the ASARCO research and experiment stations in the Salt Lake Valley embodied more than a successful smelter smoke study, in the process the smelters' programs demonstrated the beneficial application of superior scientific agricultural practices to local farming problems. Most farmers, however, were not similarly impressed. Judge Johnson concluded his decision in *Anderson v. ASARCO* by remarking on the local farmers' lack of enthusiasm for the smelters' demonstrations of progressive, scientific farming: "It is unfortunate that the plaintiffs and other farmers of the community have not taken more interest in the experimental farms of the defendants, and profited by the information acquired in the operation of said farms...."²⁵

In his decision, Judge Johnson clearly acknowledged the parallels between local conflicts over smelter generated pollution and a simultaneous movement for the scientific reform of local agricultural practice. The smelting companies themselves had long recognized these parallels. To demonstrate that much of the damage attributed to smelter smoke was actually a result of poor farming methods, several smelters initiated agricultural

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid; Judge Tillman Johnson did recognize the need to further pollution controls, in some cases, to decrease the frequency of the few cases of visible damage still occurring. Johnson's decision reinforced a belief in technological progress and rested confidently in the hope that "in the application of new knowledge" a means could be discovered to ameliorate the smelters' noxious fume. In 1920, the year *Anderson v. ASARCO* was decided, the court appointed Robert Swain, Stanford professor of chemistry and long-time smelter smoke researcher, commissioner of smelter smoke investigations in the Salt Lake Valley to oversee the development of a new pollution control regime for the valley's smelters. Through a study that lasted from January 1920 to February 1921, Swain found ASARCO's dispersion controls of tall stacks and high gas temperatures the best available means for solving the problem. As ASARCO had been implementing these controls since 1918, Swain found them currently not at fault and suggested that the USSRCO smelter be forced to take the same approach. See Robert Swain, "A Report on an Investigation of Smelter Operations and Field Conditions in the Salt Lake Valley" (unpublished report presented to the United States District Court at Salt Lake City, Utah, February 28, 1921), Special Collections, Merrill Library, Utah State University. See also "Swain's Report on Smoke in Salt Lake Valley," *Chemical & Metallurgical Engineering* 24 (March 1921): 464-65.

²⁵ *Anderson v. ASARCO*, 937, 940.

reform campaigns, which would simultaneously facilitate their own production and distribution of chemical based farm products.

At the outset of these conflicts, the smelter officials were, in most cases, unable to prove that they did not cause all the damage charged by the farmer. Instead of challenging the farmers' claims, most of the smelter companies resorted to paying cash settlements. American

Smelting and Refining Company's legal counsel, Ligon Johnson, however, contended that such attempts to "buy peace" only encouraged new and unsubstantiated damage claims from the farmers: "As smoke suits began to multiply plant managers, not knowing how much damage was actually done to vegetation by smoke, were forced into paying damages that resulted only in creating a class of 'smoke farmers.'"²⁶

The smelter men's contemptuous attitude toward the local agrarian opposition was most succinctly embodied in their caricature the "smoke farmer." Smelter men throughout the West often used the pejorative expression "smoke farming" to describe what they saw as a growing practice among farmers to unknowingly blame or intentionally blackmail the smelters. Ligon Johnson's assessment of the farmers' role in these conflicts represents a point of view common in smelting and mining circles: "Their idea of farming was to let their places grow up on weeds and collect from the damages for conditions which, if later developed, were not remotely attributable to smelting operations; but the farmers once having been paid, insisted on continued payments. The price of peace was rising above the possible profits of smelting operations."²⁷

²⁶ Johnson, "History and Legal Phases - II," 924.

²⁷ Ibid. After the 1906 injunction, "science" became a central concept in public negotiations of social-cultural identity. While the "smoke farmer" caricature was a product of western smelter-farmer conflicts in general, in the Utah media it took on a decidedly local significance. For example, in 1907 when both the *Salt Lake Tribune* and the *Salt Lake Mining Review* reported on farming conditions in the south Salt Lake Valley, each used a familiarity with scientific practices to discriminate between a Mormon and a non-Mormon identity—correlating non-scientific practices with a Mormon affiliation, and scientific practices with a non-Mormon affiliation. Ultimately, this stereotype exploited an exaggerated distinction between



Smelter advocates lash out at local farmers after the decision in *Godfrey v. ASARCO*. The Salt Lake Tribune, December 28, 1906.

Poignant local expressions of this concept appeared frequently in the *Salt Lake Mining Review* as well. An article from 1915 stated:

A dry hot summer appears for the farmer, just as it would have appeared had there not been a smelter within a thousand miles. His crops are failures, as are those of his neighbors for fifty miles around. But those at a distance are not so fortunate as he. For it is no longer necessary for him to work through the winter to recoup his losses. Instead he sees a lawyer. And soon we read of another suit because of "ruined crops."²⁸

But these portraits exaggerate the farmers' intent to extort money from the smelters. According to contemporary agricultural agents, in most cases where a farmer's damage claims against a smelter did prove unjustified, they resulted from the farmer's misunderstanding of the true origin of his crop damage rather than an attempt at willful extortion. Consequently, much of the criticism aimed at farmers after the *Godfrey v. ASARCO* decision in 1906 focused on the farmers' deficient understanding of crops and their associated problems.²⁹

Soon after *Godfrey v. ASARCO*, the smelter men and their advocates began to insist that the poor condition of the farmers' crops was not, in most cases, a result of the smelters' waste, but of the farmers' nonscientific practices. Local mining papers began to corroborate this view in numerous articles. In a 1907 article on the valley's smoke problem, the *Salt Lake Mining Review* introduced Mr. E. M. Baker, a lifetime resident and farmer of Sandy: "Mr. Baker states that he and his brother never have suffered a bad crop on their farms, for the reason that they have *farmed in as scientific a manner as it is possible for men in these enlightened times to farm*" [italics added]. "Bad luck for a farmer," the article continues, "may mean more than bad

Mormon farmers and gentile miners which had divided the Salt Lake community since Colonel Patrick Connor's militant mining campaign against the influence of the Mormon church in the 1870s. While debates in the public media reinforced a perceived Mormon/non-Mormon opposition, in reality the conflict frequently cut across religious boundaries creating unconventional alliances which defied such stereotypical notions of identity. Ultimately, though the local media presented it as such, the smelter smoke conflict in the Salt Lake region was not a conflict between Mormons and non-Mormons. The majority of the farmers in the valley were certainly Mormon, yet many Mormons worked at the smelters as well, and many Mormon agricultural scientists allied with the smelters on scientific issues. See my previous work, "The Cultural Dynamics of Smelter Smoke Pollution in the Salt Lake Valley, 1897-1920" (paper presented at the 49th Annual Meeting of the Utah State Historical Society, August 24, 2001 and on file at the Utah State Historical Society Library).

²⁸ *Salt Lake Mining Review* (November 30, 1915): 18. While professional mining journals and associations (national, regional, and local) provided an elaborate technical and political support network for the smelters, farmers opposition groups were much more isolated. Although farmers allied with each other through "committees" and drew upon local resources such as horticultural clubs, social clubs, religious organizations, and county and state governmental agencies, for the most part they lacked the highly organized, broadly based communication networks that the scientific and technical societies and publications facilitated for the smelters.

²⁹ I base this assessment on the conclusions of the county extension agents and independent researchers who had first hand experience with local farmers and their damage problems. Here I specifically refer to Raymond Pool's case studies in Swain, "A Report on an Investigation," 29-124; and H. J. Webb, agricultural extension agent for Salt Lake County, and his annual reports. See H. J. Webb, "Annual Report of Work in Salt Lake County, 1915" (*Extension Service Records*, Special Collections, Merrill Library, Utah State University); and appendix in Charles Peterson, "Agriculture in Salt Lake County, 1890-1920" (unpublished typescript, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah, 1980).

USSRCO's agricultural display at the Utah State Fair, October 1917. All products were raised at the USSRCO Winchester Demonstration Farm near Midvale. These photographs are two of five frames required to capture the entire display.

luck, it may mean bad management." And bad management is attributable to "carelessness or ignorance."³⁰

To support this argument, the smelters used their experimental farms as demonstration farms calculated to undermine local farmers' credibility. ASARCO's Department of Agricultural Research pioneered this approach to conflict resolution in the Salt Lake region. Implementing an agricultural reform program and public relations campaign meant appropriating many nearby farms and hiring farm extension agents to spread agricultural reform through the community. Smelter researchers used the most modern agricultural methods available to grow a remarkably successful



³⁰ "Farmers and Smelter Smoke," *Salt Lake Mining Review* (December 15, 1907): 20-21. It is very interesting to note here that while local and regional mining journals were strong advocates for the Salt Lake smelters, local agricultural journals did not support the Salt Lake farmers. As late as 1904, according to Utah Agricultural College's director John Widtsoe, Utah had no single, reliable journal devoted to agriculture: "While other states less thickly populated and with much less agricultural wealth... have from two to fifty publications devoted to agriculture... this state stands alone in having no publication of this character." Widtsoe, "The Deseret Farmer," *Deseret Farmer* (July 14, 1904): 4. Once Widtsoe established such a paper in 1904, however, it remained almost entirely aloof from the Salt Lake farmers' crisis. Between 1904 and 1909 at the very height of the smoke conflict in the Salt Lake Valley, Widtsoe's journal, the *Deseret Farmer*, published only three articles, all of marginal importance, that even mentioned the existence of a "smoke problem." The reason for this silence likely stemmed from Utah agricultural scientists' own struggle for authority—a struggle which put science and personal character at the forefront of a debate over local agricultural practices, and in many ways reinforced the smelters' own "scientific" reform efforts. *Deseret Farmer*, April 13, 20, and June 1, 1907. Of local non-agricultural journals, the *Deseret News* provided the best forum for farmers' grievances, but relied on an economic, rather than a scientific, defense.

array of crops within the smoke district and set an unrealistic standard of farm operation (because it was much too expensive for the small farmer) which they expected the farmers themselves to follow with an unqualified allegiance.³¹

The other smelters followed ASARCO's lead. Even prior to opening its plant in 1910, ISSRCO employed a team of agricultural scientists to examine local agricultural conditions and later they conducted extensive farming in the region to discredit the local farmers' damage claims. Likewise, USSRCO acquired a nearby 180-acre farm previously owned by James Winchester for its experimental crops. According to a future USSRCO report, this farm (known as the Winchester Demonstration Farm by 1921) eventually produced "a dozen varieties of wheat, 44 kinds of forage crops, 9 varieties of potatoes; oats, barley, rice, hemp and garden truck of all kinds. Even soy beans, flax, buckwheat and cotton were grown." Litigation over smoke damage attributed to the Garfield smelter resulted in a seventy-acre ASARCO demonstration farm in that vicinity where the smelter raised barley, corn, wheat, oats, and eventually a herd of prize winning dairy cattle.³²

The United States Smelting and Refining Company exploited the success of its experimental crops for its public relations potential, as did the other smelters with their own crops and stock. Entering its produce in the county and state agricultural fairs, USSRCO attempted to obviate the criticisms of the valley's farmers by using its smelter wastes to help produce attractive salable commodities. USSRCO claimed to have "raised and exhibited over one-hundred different products each year." In 1916, one metallurgical journal reported "The United States [smelting] company has received an unusual number of awards at the Utah State Fair, . . . on stock, vegetables, grain, etc., raised on its farm." The elaborate agricultural exhibitions, which the smelters held at the local fairs, celebrated the apparently superior, scientific methods used at the smelters' farms. However, smelters like USSRCO failed to reveal that their toxic emissions were frequently "burning" or poisoning their own crops.³³

³¹ *Anderson v. ASARCO*, 933-35.

³² *Mining, Smelting, and Railroad*, 111; James and Elizabeth Winchester were owners of the first patented homestead in Utah. This farm lay at the center of the Salt Lake Valley just northeast of where the USSRCO smelters would be built in 1902. By 1906 the Winchesters claimed that persistent crop damage by smelter smoke forced them to abandon this farm, which USSRCO soon purchased. To the contrary, USSRCO claimed poor crops on this farm resulted not from smelter smoke, but from the land having been "worked almost continually since Mormon settlement without regard to crop rotation or adequate fertilization." See "Winchester Family History" (family history file, Murray City Archive, Murray, Utah); "American Smelting & Refining Company's Smoke Investigations," *Metallurgical & Chemical Engineering*, (December 5, 1917): 682; Johnson, "History and Legal Phases - I," 879-80; Swain, "Smoke and Fume," 2386; Thum, "Smoke Litigation," 1145-46; C. A. Nelson, "Smelters," in *Midvale History, 1851-1979*, ed. Maurine C. Jensen (Midvale, Utah: Midvale Historical Society, 1979): 232-37; *Ax-I-Dent-Ax* (May 1929): 37-38. For GSCO's farm see Wirth, *Smelter Smoke*, 123; Marcossion, *Metal Magic*, 259-60.

³³ *Ax-I-Dent-Ax* (May 1929): 37; *Engineering & Mining Journal* 102 (1916): 728. For example, Robert Swain's 1921 report on the field conditions of the Salt Lake Valley noted: "a rather severe case of sulphur dioxide discoloration was noted on the Winchester Demonstration Farm on Tuesday, August 3rd, the most severely marked area [being] in the sugar beets just north of Winchester Road." Earlier, the same investiga-

As the developments mentioned above clearly show, the smelters' extensive research and development programs played a dual role in these conflicts. First, once the US district court forced the smelters to abate their pollution or face a permanent injunction (as in *Godfrey v. ASARCO*), the smelter companies initiated programs to discover the most economically feasible method of abating their pollution. Second, the smelters' research programs were calculated efforts to disarm local farmers' criticism by discrediting their damage claims—most often through a demonstration of superior “scientific” farming practices. The complementary nature of these scientific programs is perhaps best illustrated in the smelters' research, development, and marketing of various farm products—mainly pesticides. These products not only provided the most commercially feasible outlet for the smelters' noxious wastes (such as sulfur dioxide gas, arsenic, and other metallic dusts), but also embodied the smelters' scientific critique of local farmers' practices.³⁴

In March 1888 the Utah territorial legislature approved the organization of an agricultural college for the state in accordance with the 1862 Morrill Act. This act granted public lands to states and territories for establishing institutions for mechanical and agricultural instruction. The legislature also called for the creation of “an agricultural experiment station to conduct original researches” in connection with the college. The federal mandate for experiment stations, which Congress passed as part of the Hatch Act in 1887, called for such stations to “promote scientific investigation and experiment respecting the principles and applications of agricultural science” and to advocate the scientific reform of traditional agricultural methods and the farmers who practiced them. The scientific reform agenda of the Utah Agricultural

tor found that “the lucern on the Winchester Demonstration Farm . . . was also very noticeably discolored by sulphur dioxide. The markings there were even more prominent and distinct than they were in the field belonging to Mr. Norwich [an adjacent farm]. The lucern on the Demonstration farm was being pastured by hogs, and those animals were rapidly reducing the conspicuous features of the injury.” Swain, “A Report on an Investigation,” 63, 78.

³⁴ While sustained local opposition to smelter pollution in the Salt Lake region had prompted ASARCO into extensive research into the viability of the production and marketing of sulfur based commercial fertilizers in Utah since 1907, this practice was not widely followed by Utah smelters. Up to that time, high transportation costs resulting from the western states' isolation from industrial centers (especially the Intermountain West) made the cost of commercial fertilizers prohibitive. Though ASARCO apparently never manufactured its own line of agricultural fertilizers (as did many other western smelters), by 1916 its managers clearly recognized the commercial potential for its sulfur dioxide gas as a locally manufactured agricultural supplement and its potential for disarming the continuing local crisis over the smelter's pollution. At this time ASARCO clearly began experimenting with the application of various forms of sulfur to local crops precisely to establish its value as fertilizer for western farmers. Further, the numerous sulfuric acid plants it established at the GSCO plant, beginning in 1915, were definitely selling the acid to fertilizer manufactures by the 1950s. Although it is difficult to uncover the actual short or long-term effect this development had on local farming practices, this research offers another example of ASARCO's challenge to local “smoke farmers” by powerfully advocating a scientific, chemical based method of farm operation calculated to provide an economically viable outlet for its harmful gas and metallic wastes. For western smelters' manufacture of fertilizers see William F. Kett, “The Relationship of Copper Mining to the Fertilizer Industry,” *The Fertilizer Green Book* 2 (1930): 19-30. See also Wirth, *Smelter Smoke*, 32-35, and Wells, “Results of Recent Investigations,” 645.

College (UAC) and experiment stations provided the basis for the creation of the county farm extension programs a few years later.³⁵

Though the UAC was distinguished most for its advancements in irrigation and dry farming research during these years, an increasing emphasis on the commercialization of Utah agriculture led to a greater concentration on reducing crop damage by insects and disease. Consequently, the college expanded its attempts to develop effective control methods for these pests. Further, while the UAC was carrying out its federal mandate for agricultural reform, Utah's state legislature worked to standardize local responses to crop pests and disease. Compelling the legislature was the same growing interest in the commercialization of the state's agricultural industry. A commercial agricultural system depended on secure trade networks with neighboring states. Many states, including Utah, however, were enacting laws against the importation of potentially infested or diseased agricultural products. To guarantee a consistently high-quality farm product capable of meeting neighboring states' importation requirements as well as to improve statewide agricultural yields, beginning in 1894 the legislature passed a series of laws to standardize pest control practices. That year saw the first law requiring the spraying of fruit trees. Two years later, the legislature created the State Board of Horticulture and a statewide regime for orchard spraying at the county level. By 1917 the growing problem with crop pests led to the reorganization of the state's Board of Horticulture as the Crops and Pests Commission (CPC) and the expansion of the state's pest control regime to include all farm crops, not just orchards.³⁶

The most common causes of damage to crops such as wheat, corn, potatoes, alfalfa, beets, apples, peaches, and pears derived from insect pests such as codling moth, mites, peach tree and twig borer, woolly aphis, and weevil, and diseases like pear blight, scale, smut, and fire blight. Yet, it was frequently beyond many farmers' abilities to tell the difference between these or damage by smelter smoke. In an annual report on extension activities in Salt Lake County in 1915, recently appointed farm extension agent H. J. Webb underscored this fact and summarized the complex nature of the conflicts when he reported that "Farmers were honest in their convictions, but were largely ignorant of the real cause of most of their trouble, although they in many instances justly had complaint against the smelters."³⁷

³⁵ *Utah: A Centennial History*, 194, 198, 201, 219-20; US Statutes at Large, vol. XXIV, 400; Peterson, "Agriculture in Salt Lake County," 121. In 1896, the year Utah achieved statehood, the newly formed state legislature appropriated \$1,500 annually to facilitate the creation of annual agricultural reform programs, called "farmers' institutes," for all Utah provinces. Agricultural extension offices had been established in only a few counties by 1911, but by 1914 federal funding through the Smith-Lever Act subsidized the expansion of permanent extension programs throughout the state. Salt Lake County received its first permanent farm extension agent in August of that year, as did Tooele County.

³⁶ Utah State Crops and Pest Commission, *Biennial Report of the State Crops and Pests Commission*, 1919-1920 (Salt Lake City, 1920): 21-27.

³⁷ *Deseret Farmer* June 29, 1904, and March 28, 1908; Swain, "Report on an Investigation," 18; H. J. Webb, "Annual Report," (1915).

The tendency for farmers to indiscriminately attribute all crop damage to sulfuric acid burning or arsenical poisoning from the smelters was one of the most difficult obstacles facing UAC scientists and state pest inspectors in their effort to reform local agricultural practices, precisely because such beliefs allowed the real causes of the damage to continue unchecked.



The cover illustration of the *Deseret Farmer* on June 29, 1907, expresses quite bluntly the frustration felt by UAC scientists on this issue. The most prominent instance of this tendency involved a three-year potato blight, which grew considerably worse because of many farmers' reluctance to consider any origin for the damage other than the smelters' fume. In 1915, after identifying the true cause of the damage as a fungus, H. J. Webb reported: "this was the first systematic work done in the county along that line, so the farmers were suddenly awakened from smelter damage entirely to realistic causes."³⁸

Utah's agricultural scientists express their frustration at reforming Utah farmers. The Deseret Farmer, June 19, 1907.

Similarly, an investigative commission established by court order in the *Anderson v. ASARCO* litigation conducted a thorough analysis of the causes of crop damage in the Salt Lake Valley in 1921. Investigators found crops such as alfalfa, apples, pears, and beets heavily damaged by insects and disease, though farmers were quick to attribute the damage to smelter smoke. Regarding damage from fire blight, the most common cause of damage to apples and pears, an investigator reported: "I understand that the agricultural experts for the smelting companies have had considerable difficulty in their educational campaign in the valley with reference with this particular disease. The extreme effects of the disease are very readily taken as evidence of smoke damage by the average layman, although the symptoms when considered in their entirety have little in common with the effects of sulphur dioxide."³⁹

The recommended treatment for the prevention of many of these pests was an arsenic based insecticide spray. In the late nineteenth century the most widely used insecticide in the United States was Paris Green, a copper and arsenic based compound initially invented as a green pigment for

³⁸ Ibid. On Salt Lake County potato blight see Johnson, "History and Legal Phases - II," 926.

³⁹ Swain, "Report on an Investigation," 101.

paints but, after 1867, was increasingly used as an insecticide against the Colorado potato beetle. By the early 1900s, however, the outbreak of the gypsy moth (which had built up a resistance to Paris Green) prompted the development of an even more effective arsenic based insecticide—lead arsenate—the most popular and effective of all insecticides prior to the development of DDT during World War II.⁴⁰

In Utah, both of these insecticides were in use by the early 1900s. Arsenical insecticides were quick, effective, and widely advocated by UAC scientists and state pest inspectors. Still, improper use of these chemicals could result in burned crops and poisoned soils similar to those caused by the smelters' untreated emissions. For this reason, as well as their high cost, the majority of local farmers were apprehensive about using them. Yet by 1907, the Utah State Board of Horticulture began requiring the use of arsenical sprays where it deemed appropriate. In part, its statute read: "It shall be the duty of every owner, possessor, or occupant of any orchard...to spray all bearing apple and pear trees for codling moth with an arsenical spray, prescribed by the Board of Horticulture, as soon as the blossoms fall and before the calyxes cups close."⁴¹

This increased demand for arsenical based insecticides in Utah and the surrounding western states presented an ideal opportunity for the local smelters. Arsenic was one of the primary pollutants of pre-1907 smelter operations in the Salt Lake region. After *Godfrey v. ASARCO* forced the smelters to abate their arsenical pollution in 1907, the smelters turned primarily to bag filtration systems to collect the arsenic and other metallic dusts from their fume and began to seek viable markets for the by-products to recover their pollution control costs.⁴²

Nevertheless, the first appearance of commercial arsenical sprays in Utah came through manufacturers in the eastern United States and their local distributors. Large advertisements for "lead arsenate" and other arsenic and sulfur based insecticides began to appear weekly in 1907 in the state's premier agricultural journal the *Deseret Farmer*. Local produce purchasing and distribution businesses were among the first local distributors of these arsenical sprays, obtaining them predominantly from eastern manufacturers. According to the CPC, however, prior to 1919, local drug stores remained the primary source for plain white arsenic, but the supply was limited and the price high, averaging fifty to seventy cents per pound.⁴³

⁴⁰ James Whorton, *Before Silent Spring: Pesticides and Public Health in Pre-DDT America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1974), 20-24.

⁴¹ For the nation-wide controversy over the use of these sprays see Whorton, *Before Silent Spring*, and Steven Stoll, *The Fruits of Natural Advantage: Making the Industrial Countryside in California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 121; *Deseret Farmer*, March 28, 1908.

⁴² See F.Y. Robinson, "Arsenic," in *The Marketing of Metals and Minerals* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1925), 13-20. See Swain, "Report on an Investigation," 197 for specific use of recovered arsenic in Salt Lake smelters.

⁴³ A few of the early produce companies distributing the insecticide include the Roylance Fruit Company in Provo, the Vogeler Seed and Produce Company in Salt Lake City, and the Griffin Fruit

The first clear evidence of the local smelters' own production and distribution of arsenic based pesticides appears in 1919. The proliferation of chemical remedies to agricultural problems following World War I, compelled the state legislature to establish a regulatory system for the manufacture and distribution of pesticides within the state. A directory of such suppliers appeared in the CPC's 1919 biennial report showing USSRCO and numerous eastern companies as purveyors of lead arsenate, but USSRCO alone as supplier of arsenic, sodium arsenate, and tricalcium arsenate. Further, the CPC indicated that by 1919 local smelters provided the cheapest and most abundant supply of white arsenic, citing a drop in price from seventy cents per pound at most from previous suppliers to as little as ten cents per pound from the local smelters.⁴⁴

In 1920 the USSRCO smelter at Midvale began running weekly advertisements in the *Utah Farmer* (formerly *Deseret Farmer*) for "USSCO" farm products for sale by their Agricultural Department. These products included various kinds of insecticides, fungicides, weed killers, and poison baits such as "calcium arsenate, arsenate of lead, miscible oil, lime sulphur, nicotine sulphate" and plain arsenic, as well as sodium arsenate, copper sulphate and copper carbonate dust.⁴⁵ The use of such chemicals in the Salt Lake region would become increasingly common, and the effects of the Salt Lake

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Experimental work conducted under widely different conditions demonstrated that the Weed Killer produced by this Company is safe to handle and easy to apply with different devices ranging from a small hand pump to large power outfits. Small plots can be conveniently covered with a broom or sprinkling can.

ESPECIALLY VALUABLE AGAINST MORNING-GLORY, CANADIAN THISTLE AND OTHER NOXIOUS WEEDS, WILLOWS AND VEGETATION INFESTING WASTE PLACES.

Apply any time before frost kills the vegetation. Consult your County Agricultural Agent or Crops and Pests Inspector.

United States Smelting, Refining & Mining Company
Agricultural Department
SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH
Also Calcium Arsenate, Arsenate of Lead, Miscible Oil, Lime Sulphur, Nicotine Sulphate, Arsenic.

An early USSRCO pesticide advertisement, the Utah Farmer, October 9, 1920.

Company of Ogden. See advertisements in the *Deseret Farmer* April 6, 1907; March 28, 1908; and January 16, 1909; Utah State Crops and Pest Commission, *Biennial Report, 1919-1920*, 28.

⁴⁴ The first federal law regulating the insecticide industry passed in 1910 with an effective date of 1912. See Utah State Board of Horticulture, *Biennial Report of the State Board of Horticulture, 1910-1912*, (Salt Lake City, 1912), 13; Utah State Crops and Pests Commission, *Biennial Report, 1919-1920*, 21-27, 28, 43, 61-62. A thorough review of the annual and biennial reports of the Crops and Pests Commission and the Plant Industry Division of the State Department of Agriculture show 1919-1920 to be the only year for which a directory of pesticide manufacturers and distributors within Utah was published; all succeeding directories went unpublished and appear not to have survived due to a very limited records retention schedule.

⁴⁵ *Utah Farmer* October. 9, 1920; April 16, 1921.

smelters' manufacture of commercial arsenic would extend far beyond the borders of Utah and the Intermountain West.

In 1925 F.Y. Robinson, then vice-president of USSRCO, contributed an article on commercial grade arsenic to a book on the marketing of metals and their by-products. Robinson emphasized the preeminent position western smelters held in the national insecticide industry, stating: "the ordinary commercial or white arsenic is produced, in the United States, largely as a by-product recovered from flue dust and fume at smelters in the western states."⁴⁶ He specifically mentioned three smelting companies producing "standard grade white arsenic," the U. S. Smelting, Refining & Mining Company, the American Smelting & Refining Company, and the Anaconda Mining Company (which owned ISRCO at Tooele), and identified the "Salt lake district" as one of the major centers of commercial arsenic production.⁴⁷

UAC extension agents and county pest inspectors were the most likely distributors and consultants for the smelters' numerous farm products. The CPC was very clear with their intent to help subsidize a commercial pesticide industry in Utah. Regarding a test application of sodium arsenate on weeds (with pesticide supplied by USSRCO), the CPC stated: "Again we were interested in commercializing such a system if possible, because our interest lies not in the field of research so much as in practical application."⁴⁸ As the smelters concentrated increasingly on the production of chemical pesticides, they often relied on farm extension agents and county inspectors to provide the necessary instruction to the farmers and indicated so in their advertisements.⁴⁹ Further, as a service to the farmers, the CPC frequently ordered the products from the dealers, prepared the products when necessary, and collected the money for the dealer at no cost.⁵⁰

This close relation between the smelters and local agricultural institutions deepened further through employment. In 1925 Dr. George R. Hill, plant pathologist at the UAC and its former director, accepted the position of director of ASARCO's agricultural department—a position he held through the 1940s. Though Dr. Hill was the most prominent example of this intimate relationship, numerous similar examples clearly demonstrate that the smelters' agricultural departments presented a highly valued employment opportunity for UAC graduates and faculty.⁵¹

Between 1920 and 1935, the use of chemical pesticides in the Salt Lake and adjacent valleys increased significantly. In 1920 many agriculturists were decrying the low use of agricultural chemicals for solutions to farm

⁴⁶ Robinson, "Arsenic," 13-20.

⁴⁷ In regard to the relation between arsenical production at western smelters and farmers, Robinson noted, "A great many of the states, through state entomologists and county farm bureaus, purchase white arsenic, arsenate of lead, and other insecticides in large quantities at whole sale prices, giving the benefit of these prices to the local farmers." Ibid, 16-17.

⁴⁸ Utah State Crops and Pests Commission, *Biennial Report, 1919-1920*, 43.

⁴⁹ *Utah Farmer*, October 9, 1920.

⁵⁰ Utah State Crops and Pests Commission, *Biennial Report, 1919-1920*, 28, 43, 59.

⁵¹ *Utah Farmer*, May 25, 1918; Marcossou, *Metal Magic*, 257; *Ax-I-Dent-Ax*, May 1929.

problems. The investigative commission in the Anderson case, however, noted that the use of lead arsenate was beginning to be “introduced and practiced freely in many sections [of the Salt Lake Valley] when the alfalfa crop is seriously affected by weevil.”⁵² The USSRCO smelter was the only advertiser for these products in the *Utah Farmer* all through the 1920s, suggesting that it may have controlled the local market. By the 1930s, in articles published in the employee serial *Ax-I-Dent-Ax*, the company frequently gloated over the widespread use of their arsenical products in the Salt Lake region, especially on grasshoppers and weeds.⁵³

Finally, the Utah bee poisoning crisis of the 1930s and 1940s, with which this article began, provides an apt demonstration of the increased use of these arsenic-based products. By 1945 independent researchers had clearly established the cause of the poisoning. The widespread and irresponsible application of arsenical insecticides through fruit spraying or crop dusting was the primary culprit. In a controversial report on the problem, A. P. Sturtevant, entomologist in charge at the U. S. Bee Culture Laboratory at the University of Wyoming and lead researcher in the investigation, noted:

At times during the past, but especially during 1943 and 1944, some careless orchard spraying while fruit trees were still in bloom resulted in scattered, sometime serious spring loss of bees. However, a strenuous effort has been made to discourage careless and poorly timed application of the arsenical and other insecticides. The publicity that has been given the bee poisoning problem and the need for protecting bees from orchard spray poisoning has apparently reduced bee poisoning from this source.⁵⁴

Further, Sturtevant found that “alfalfa weevil control dusting with calcium arsenate, applied at a time when bees were actively working various grasses abundant in the alfalfa fields for pollen” contributed significantly to the problem.⁵⁵

Utah’s bee poisoning crisis, consequently, dramatizes a development of much broader significance. Spurred by a court order to abate their pollution or stop their operations, the smelters remaining in the central region of the Salt Lake Valley after 1908 initiated extensive waste recycling programs that facilitated the production of arsenic-based commercial farm products for sale locally and regionally to western farmers, and nationally to other manufacturers and distributors. By the mid 1920s, the ASARCO and USSRCO smelting operations in the Salt Lake Valley had clearly become among the nation’s chief purveyors of arsenical farm products and leading exponents of a chemical based system of farm management. In this article I have attempted to reconstruct the complex negotiations between

⁵² Swain, “Report on an Investigation,” 332.

⁵³ *Ax-I-Dent-Ax* April 1930; June 1931; March 1932.

⁵⁴ A. P. Sturtevant, “Adult Honeybees in Utah,” 6-7.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* Information on the bitter conflict over the publication of this report, and claims regarding the smelters’ considerable political influence in the state, are included in the correspondence of the Utah State Bee Inspector, *William L. Moran Papers*, USHS.

local farmers and smelter operators over smelter generated pollution that led, in part, to the mass production and distribution of arsenic-based chemical farm products and management systems.

Equally important, however, is the fact that these developments intersected with and augmented a concomitant movement for the scientific reform of western agriculture. Since the 1880s, America's land-grant colleges had been developing new mechanical and chemical technologies to improve the productive capacity and commercial viability of America's farms. In response to sustained opposition to unregulated industrial pollution, Salt Lake area smelters initiated wide-ranging research, development, and extension programs in agricultural science which built upon and considerably extended the research already conducted at the colleges.

But the resulting new technologies spawned familiar problems. As farmers increasingly applied the chemicals to their crops, they discovered problems similar to those caused by the smelters' earlier unregulated wastes. Further, the smelters' dramatic and manipulative displays of scientific power could interfere with the judicious use of these new chemicals, just as such displays had often successfully thwarted farmers' claims for legitimate crop damage caused by the smelters' fume. The farmers' misinterpretation of crop damage, on the other hand, led to frequent unsubstantiated damage claims against the smelters. Ultimately, these unsubstantiated claims further justified agricultural scientists' calls for the scientific reform of local farming practices, for which the smelters' new chemical remedies proved the primary instrument.



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Race, Space, and Chinese Life in Late-Nineteenth-Century Salt Lake City

By MICHAEL LANSING

While historians often point to the segregation and mistreatment faced by Chinese immigrants who lived in Utah in the late nineteenth-century, few have thoroughly explored the myriad ways in which those same Chinese Utahns found themselves defined and marked as socially inferior and racially degenerate. Whites in Salt Lake City, in particular, identified certain city residents as Chinese not only through descent and blood but also through the immigrants' language and associations. Together, these characteristics played into the racial formation of Chinese residents of the city, justifying that segregation and mistreatment.

Furthermore, those racial formations marked physical places in the urban landscape. The presence of actual, physical bodies of Chinese immigrants moving through different spaces in the city—especially outside the city's "Chinatown"—threatened to mark those spaces as Chinese. Chinese Salt Lake residents themselves became distinctive and mobile persons in the spatial arrangement of *Wing Hop Laundry, ca. 1910.*

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city life even as whites looked to limit that mobility and keep them in their places. Ultimately, racial understandings of Chinese residents were made real through spatial understandings of the city.¹ In fact, intimately intertwined racial constructions of Chinese immigrants and physical spaces in Salt Lake City defined immigrant experiences of the city. From within those spaces, however, Chinese residents sometimes transcended the racial and spatial markers of their inferiority foisted upon them. The Chinese in Salt Lake City fought to claim and define a Chinese American identity and a place of their own, one intimately connected to China.

Chinese immigrants first came to Utah in the late 1860s. Working on the Central Pacific Railroad, these Asian laborers tended to live in temporary housing along the railroad line. By 1870 the Chinese population living in the Utah Territory reached 445. With the transcontinental railroad completed at Promontory Summit, Utah, in 1869, Chinese immigrants clustered in the town of Corrine.² Corrine, established as an early non-LDS commercial center, lay along the new railroad northwest of Ogden. It sported a predominantly male Chinese community of “two or three hundred.”³ Most continued to work for the Central Pacific. Another group of Chinese lived in Terrace, another small railroad town one hundred miles west of Promontory. There, a few Chinese businessmen served the Chinese railroad laborers.⁴

Movement away from the old railroad towns to major urban centers started in the 1880s. Ogden, the main railroad center in Utah by the late 1870s, featured 32 Chinese residents in 1880 and 106 in 1890.⁵ While some still worked for the railroad, others ran Chinese dry goods shops and boarding houses. From there, Chinese residents in Utah went on to found communities in Park City and Salt Lake City.⁶ In Salt Lake City a Chinese community emerged in the late 1880s around Plum Alley, a block-long street off the main grid tucked near the center of Salt Lake City’s commercial district. Chinese laundrymen and women also lived and worked in

¹ For a historical geography of the racial formation of Chinese immigrants in North American cities, see Kay Anderson, *Vancouver’s Chinatown: Racial Discourse in Canada, 1875-1980* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1991). For the notion that bodies serve as geographic places, see Robin Longhurst, “The Body and Geography,” *Gender, Place and Culture* 2 (1995): 97-105, and Geraldine Pratt, “Grids of Difference: Place and Identity Formation,” in *Cities of Difference*, ed. Ruth Fincher and Jane M. Jacobs (New York: Guilford Press, 1998). For the relationship between race and place, see Donald Mitchell, *Cultural Geography: A Critical Introduction* (New York: Blackwell, 2000), 255-58.

² Dean L. May, *Utah: A People’s History* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1987), 141-42; Don C. Conley, “The Pioneer Chinese of Utah” (master’s thesis, Brigham Young University, 1976), 31-48; Don C. Conley, “The Pioneer Chinese of Utah,” in *The Peoples of Utah*, ed. Helen Z. Papanikolas (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1976), 251-57; “The Early Chinese of the Western United States” in *Our Pioneer Heritage*, ed. Kate B. Carter, 20 vols. (Salt Lake City: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1958-1977), 10: 29-43.

³ *Utah Reporter* (Corinne, UT), April 26, 1870.

⁴ Conley, “The Pioneer Chinese,” 254, 258.

⁵ Conley, “The Pioneer Chinese of Utah” (master’s thesis), 58.

⁶ For more on Chinese miners in the Mountain West, see Liping Zhu, *A Chinaman’s Chance: The Chinese on the Rocky Mountain Mining Frontier* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 1997).

nearby businesses scattered across the central city.⁷ In the midst of founding this new community, residents found the effects of national exclusion laws took their toll. While there were 806 Chinese in Utah in 1890, only 572 remained in 1900.⁸ Those who stayed emigrated to the new state's urban Chinese communities—especially Salt Lake City's.

The Chinese community in Salt Lake City during the 1890s proved more complex than most white contemporaries realized.⁹ While many Chinese lived along Plum Alley, laundry operators tended to live outside the so-called Chinatown. In those laundries, Chinese owners and laborers scrubbed clothes for locals and for hotel visitors.¹⁰ A handful of Chinese Salt Lakers worked as domestic servants, cooks, and baby sitters for white families.¹¹ Beyond that, Chinese market farmers who sold their crops on city street corners and at the city market lived in the outer reaches of the city. In fact, working garden plots in and beyond the city limits constituted another primary occupation for Chinese citizens of Salt Lake City. Drawing on the city's layout—originally meant to encourage agriculture in the urban environment with wide blocks, low building density, and large lots—these Chinese farmers moved into a void left by white residents as the city came to resemble more closely other late nineteenth-century American cities. They took over urban garden plots and, unintentionally, kept the Mormon ideal of an agricultural city alive long after that community abandoned the idea. Watched closely by city police, these Chinese farmers often found themselves cited for breaking city ordinances when they looked to sell their wares on city streets and at city markets. Nonetheless, they proved a crucial component of the city's economy, and so city government sometimes tolerated their presence.¹²

⁷ Liza C. Julien, "The Transitional Landscape and Architecture of Downtown Salt Lake City, 1898-1911," (master's thesis, University of Utah, 1995), 20.

⁸ John H. Yang, comp., *Asian Americans in Utah: A Living History* (Salt Lake City: State of Utah Office of Asian Affairs, 1999), 445.

⁹ Daniel Liestman's work remains the best synthesis of the Chinese experience in Utah, and proved important to my own understandings of Chinese life in Salt Lake City. See Daniel Liestman, "Utah's Chinatowns: The Development and Decline of Extinct Ethnic Enclaves," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 64 (Winter 1996): 70-95. As Dorothy Fujita-Rony points out, the emphasis on strictly bounded Chinatowns in Asian American history, however, misses "people's movements in and through these demarcated spaces." See Dorothy B. Fujita-Rony, *American Workers, Colonial Power: Philippine Seattle and the Transpacific West, 1919-1941* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 13.

¹⁰ Examination of the Sanborn Fire Insurance maps for Salt Lake City in 1898 suggests that many laundry owners strategically located their businesses next to or across the street from hotels. Those maps are located in Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City.

¹¹ Liestman mentions Chinese workers residing with white families in these occupations across Utah. Don Conley also mentions them—drawing from the 1880 census. As far as one can tell from the 1900 Census, of the 206 Chinese residents in Salt Lake City that year, only three worked as servants in white families, and one worked as a cook for the same. See Liestman, "Utah's Chinatowns," 87, and Conley, "The Pioneer Chinese of Utah" (master's thesis), 64.

¹² Liestman, "Utah's Chinatowns," 87. For urban agriculture in Salt Lake City more generally, as well as the shift away from that model, see Esther Ruth Truitt, "Home Gardening On City Lots in the Salt Lake Valley, 1847-1918," (master's thesis, University of Connecticut, 1986). University of Utah archivist Walter Jones is currently researching the history of Salt Lake City Chinese market gardeners. He brought them to my attention and graciously shared his research materials and insights on their story.

The shift of the Chinese population to the state's major cities as well as the transnational connections forged by the Chinese residents who lived in them emerged against the backdrop of a new national policy towards Chinese immigrants. While the United States welcomed and even encouraged Chinese laborers to emigrate in the 1860s, by 1882 Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act, which effectively ended the legal immigration of Chinese workers to the United States. Those already living across the nation were denied naturalized citizenship. Fearing race-based class conflict, Congress listened closely as white-dominated labor unions blamed Chinese workers for labor trouble.¹³ Expanded in 1888 to include all but "Chinese officials, teachers, students, tourists, and merchants," the act was renewed in 1892 for another ten years.¹⁴ A number of Chinese men continued to immigrate to the United States, however, with faked paperwork that suggested merchant status.¹⁵

More generally, the exclusion acts and their renewal signaled a shift in the nation's immigration policy. Targeting an immigrant group by race and class for the first time, the gate keeping inherent in the Chinese exclusion acts ultimately meant that immigrants found themselves racially defined by blood and kinship in quantifiable and regulated ways. Indeed, government officials and bureaucrats created new forms of regulation and identification for those recognized as Chinese. In this way, the exclusion acts not only defined those Chinese attempting to enter the country but also worked to racially identify the Chinese already living in the United States. Saddled with a legal status based on their race that remained in constant jeopardy, Chinese immigrants fought back by challenging the racial formulations that emerged in these regulations.¹⁶

That a number of Chinese immigrants congregated along Plum Alley in the late 1880s and 1890s meant white Salt Lakers could claim a Chinatown

¹³ For more on Chinese railroad laborers and exclusion, see Alexander Saxton, *The Indispensable Enemy: Labor and the Anti-Chinese Movement in California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971). Unlike Saxton, Andrew Gyory points the blame for exclusion away from labor and onto Congress in *Closing the Gate: Race, Politics, and the Chinese Exclusion Act* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998). Saxton's analysis remains more compelling. The same Congress that voted for the Chinese Exclusion Act also enacted the landmark anti-polygamy Edmunds Act that so affected Utah that year.

¹⁴ Ronald Takaki, *Strangers From A Different Shore: A History of Asian Americans* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1989), 111. For more on the history of the laws targeting Chinese immigrants, see Erika Lee, *At America's Gates: Chinese Immigration During the Exclusion Era, 1882-1943* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), and Lucy E. Saylor, *Laws Harsh as Tigers: Chinese Immigrants and the Shaping of Modern Immigration Law* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995). The Chinese Exclusion Act signaled a new government willingness to actively classify immigrants' suitability and restrict entry for racial reasons. For more on the act as a turning point in American immigration law more generally, see Erika Lee, "Immigrants and Immigration Law: A State of the Field Assessment," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 18 (Summer 1999): 85-114.

¹⁵ Indeed, a number of the Chinese who lived and worked in Utah through the 1890s intended to go back. Don C. Conley, "The Pioneer Chinese of Utah," in *The Peoples of Utah*, 259.

¹⁶ See Erika Lee, *At America's Gates*; Sucheng Chan, ed. *Entry Denied: Exclusion and the Chinese Community in America, 1882-1943* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991); Sucheng Chan and K. Scott Wong, eds., *Claiming America: Constructing Chinese American Identities during the Exclusion Era* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998).



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Commercial Street in Salt Lake City, September 23, 1909.

in their midst. In fact, even before a substantial Chinese settlement could be identified in Salt Lake City, “a ‘place’ for them already had a distinct reality in the consciousness” of the white residents of the city.¹⁷ While they never formally zoned for a Chinese district, white citizens attempted to do exactly that in 1874 and 1882. By the late 1880s, enough Chinese immigrants lived in Salt Lake City along Plum Alley and into some parts of adjacent Commercial Street to create a Chinatown that met white expectations.¹⁸ In fact, Chinatown emerged from not just the grouping of these foreign immigrants together but from the expectation that they be grouped together. In September 1888 the *Salt Lake Tribune* complained, “twenty four Chinamen had been wont to sleep under the roof of the Chinese store” after the “demolition of the East First South street shanties.”¹⁹ A year later, the newspaper prematurely bleated that Chinatown was “doomed.” Andrew Meick was building “a brick bottling house” to replace the “old rookeries” on the back-side of Commercial Street. Originally “erected” fifteen years previous “especially for the Chinese,” the “rookeries” earned a reputation as the “toughest looking layout” in town.²⁰

Racism and its most notable tool—exclusion—accounted for a statistical drop in the Chinese population in Utah in the 1890s. Chinese residents of Salt Lake City reacted by clustering more tightly around Plum Alley and Commercial Street. Unable to rent rooms or homes near their work due to racial segregation, Chinese residents of the city lived in the crowded board-

¹⁷ A similar process took place in Vancouver, British Columbia. See Anderson, *Vancouver's Chinatown*, 80.

¹⁸ Liestman, “Utah’s Chinatowns,” 92, 72.

¹⁹ *Salt Lake Tribune*, September 6, 1888.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, September 28, 1889.

ing houses above the shops on those thoroughfares.²¹ In this sense, white residents ensured that race defined this part of the city by making certain that most of the Chinese immigrants in Salt Lake City physically inhabited that space. Chinese laundries remained an exception to Chinese living patterns, yet even there, race worked in a spatial fashion. In 1890, of the thirteen laundries listed in the city directory, ten were owned and operated by Chinese businessmen, most of which were beyond the bounds of Plum Alley. By 1898 Chinese men ran eleven of the seventeen laundries in the growing city. By 1904 Chinese residents ran only eleven of the twenty-one laundries. Even as Salt Lake City's population grew—and with it the demand for laundry service—Chinese laundries faced a steadily dropping share of the dirty clothes market.²² Fragmentary evidence suggests that Gentiles preferred to frequent Chinese laundries in the years before 1896 as they tried to avoid doing business with LDS members.²³ Yet only a year earlier, the *Salt Lake Herald* lustily reprinted an article from the *Washington Times* suggesting real Americans with dirty laundry needed to never “spend another cent with a Chinaman.”²⁴ The message seemed clear—whites needed to work across religious lines to undercut Chinese laundry dominance. With statehood, Mormon and Gentile laundry operators alike did exactly that. Their inroads in Salt Lake City's laundry business slowly squeezed Chinese laundry operators. In September 1898, “John Brooks, superintendent of the Troy laundry,” left for a national “laundryman's convention” in Cincinnati. The *Salt Lake Herald* happily pointed out that he would serve there as “the delegate from Utah.”²⁵ While he planned to study “up all improvements in the laundry business,” one doubts he planned to share those improvements with his Chinese competitors.²⁶ By 1900 the *Salt Lake Tribune* noted that “the establishment of the big steam laundries by white men” proffered a “serious financial blow” to Chinese laundry opera-

²¹ Sanborn fire insurance maps from 1898 clearly demarcate these boarding houses as “Chine.”

²² *R.L. Polk's Salt Lake City Directory, 1890* (Salt Lake City: R.L. Polk & Co., 1890), 726; *R.L. Polk's Salt Lake City Directory, 1896* (Salt Lake City: R.L. Polk & Co., 1896), 791; *R.L. Polk's Salt Lake City Directory, 1904* (Salt Lake City: R.L. Polk & Co., 1904), 1005.

²³ See Liestman, “Utah's Chinatowns,” 84. The Gentile-Mormon divide (and divisiveness) made Salt Lake City's Chinese experience stand out. The nearby majority Gentile town of Ogden saw a white boycott of all Chinese businesses organized by the Knights of Labor in 1885. *Ibid.*, 82. Well into the late 1890s, Rocky Mountain Chinese communities faced periodic white boycotts—often railing in stereotypical language about laundrymen and making them a particular target, as was the case in Butte, Montana, in 1897. See Rose Hum Lee, “The Growth and Decline of Chinese Communities in the Rocky Mountain Region,” (Ph. D. diss., University of Chicago, 1947), 111-16, and Stacy A. Flaherty, “Boycott in Butte: Organized Labor and the Chinese Community, 1896-1897,” *Montana The Magazine of Western History* 37 (Winter 1987): 34-47. The Chinese in Salt Lake City seem to have never faced outright organized boycotts.

²⁴ *Salt Lake Herald*, July 18, 1895.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, September 6, 1898.

²⁶ One can see a precipitous drop in the number of Chinese market gardeners—the other major occupation that might point to both the shrinking Chinese community and its physical dispersal beyond Plum Alley—between 1900 and 1910. But without the raw data from the 1890 census to compare to the 1900 census, one can only rely on laundries to describe the shrinking Chinese community in Salt Lake City in this fashion.

tors across the city, even as it worked to force those operators to give up their businesses and move into Chinatown through the early 1900s.²⁷

Before giving up his laundry operation outside Chinatown, Quong Wah, for instance, found his Chinese identity racially demarcated in the Salt Lake City papers in September 1898. Wah's attempt to marry Dora Harris, a part white, part black woman, failed when Deputy County Clerk George Blair refused to issue a marriage license to the



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couple. He noted that Harris could be considered white, and the marriage would then be in violation of the state's miscegenation laws. Given Blair's initial refusal, Wah sent for Quong Chung Yuen, "the Commercial street merchant" and unofficial spokesperson for the city's Chinese community. According to the *Salt Lake Herald* reporter, further negotiations were "postponed till Mr. Yuen [put] in his appearance." Yuen's coming, "after a few minutes delay," cheered up the prospective bride and groom. Though "ill-at-ease," Wah instructed his friend, "Yuen, the interpreter," to tell "Deputy Blair that he 'lubed Mliss Harllis' and wanted a 'lishens to mally her.'" With the reason for the visit again made clear, "Deputy Clerk Blair" invited "the trio into" his "private office." He wanted to figure out whether or not he could "legally issue a license to the Chinaman and the girl whose complexion is that of a Caucasian."²⁸ While newspaper readers thrilled to the potential in the crossing of racial lines—a potential ultimately snuffed out by Blair—the article itself accentuated the Chineseness of both Wah and Yuen by emphasizing Yuen's accent. Clear reference to that Chinese accent shaped readers' perceptions and confirmed their assumptions of Chinese city dwellers even as it embodied the racist attitudes of the white community.

Language, alone, however, did not make one Chinese in late nineteenth-

²⁷ *Salt Lake Tribune*, February 7, 1900. For an in depth look at Chinese laundries, see Paul C. P. Siu, "The Chinese Laundryman: A Study of Social Isolation," (Ph. D. diss., University of Chicago, 1953). Siu's mid-twentieth-century sociological study nonetheless opens a window into the day-to-day existence of Chinese laundrymen fifty years earlier.

²⁸ *Salt Lake Herald*, September 16, 1898.

century Salt Lake City. Besides legal issues surrounding immigration and residency and newspaper reports that pointed out poor English, the internal affairs of Chinese residents in Salt Lake City sharpened their status as foreign. A shrine known to whites as a “joss house” resided in a room above Ah Woo’s store at 13 Plum Alley. A Salt Lake City reporter described it in 1902, noting its central figure, a god of war. He described at length the offerings of food and incense in front of the shrine, illuminated by constantly lit candles. The shrine indeed served as a center of the Chinese community in Salt Lake City, though there was nothing foreign about it to the Chinese who visited the shrine.²⁹ Secret societies, tongs, or associations also served to unite Chinese immigrants. Many societies and associations worked for political advocacy on Chinese American issues. In Salt Lake City’s small Chinese community, the Bing Kung Tong functioned as an organization offering jobs, transportation, letter-writing services—many of the tools needed by immigrants in a strange land.³⁰ Meeting frequently in the boarding houses of Plum Alley, the group also provided a social outlet, especially for popular games of chance. A late night society meeting, described in the *Deseret News* in September 1898, involved “about twenty Chinamen performing the rites of a sort of freemasonry.” To the reporter, this society’s rituals proved “as weird as could be imagined.”³¹ For the members of the organization, the rituals connected members together in a support network. It kept alive links to other Chinese communities across the United States as well as across the Pacific.³² But to local whites, it offered a set of physical associations with Chinese culture that struck whites as strange.

Internal divisions in the city’s Chinese population also gave white citizens the opportunity to shape the contours of the Chinese experience in Salt Lake City. In March 1897 the Chinese community arose in furor over money mismanagement. The trial that resulted in the city’s police court involved Yee Yen, a prominent financial agent. Yen skipped town with around eight thousand dollars belonging to various Chinese men in Salt

²⁹ *Deseret Evening News*, February 8, 1902.

³⁰ Conley, “Pioneer Chinese of Utah,” 77–79.

³¹ *Deseret News*, September 7, 1898. It is impossible to know whether or not the reporter was describing a meeting of the Bing Kung Tong or another secret society whose precise existence cannot be pinpointed. Most Chinese communities—especially by the mid 1890s—sporting a number of such organizations. The political upheaval in the Chinese American community after the renewal of exclusionary immigration policies in 1893 insured competition between the societies as each claimed and worked to better serve its members in an increasingly hostile environment. See Douglas W. Lee, “Sacred Cows and Paper Tigers: Politics in Chinese America, 1880–1900,” *Annals of the Chinese Historical Society of the Pacific Northwest* 3 (1985–86): 86–103. While the tongs’ competition sometimes led to violence, the stereotype of the tongs as violent gangs is overblown. No record of such violence exists for Salt Lake City’s Chinese community in the 1890s, though a tong killing in Salt Lake City in 1883 between the Hoo Sing and Bing Kung associations may have predicated the rise of the latter over the former in the earlier period. See Liestman, “Utah’s Chinatowns,” 78.

³² These societies linked Chinese communities across America—most were headquartered in San Francisco or grew up in response to San Franciscan control of the national Chinese community. See Lee, “Sacred Cows and Paper Tigers.”

Lake City, but was captured by officials and returned to Salt Lake City for trial. Yen's crime—and his fate—attracted the Chinese consul from San Francisco even as the incident threatened to divide Salt Lake's Chinese community. The consul, Yee Ling, came to Salt Lake City and coached the prosecution, looking to solve this divisive issue. But there was a problem. The presiding judge noted that Chinese witnesses could not make an "oath to a covenant or form, which could be, in no wise [sic], binding up on their consciences." He argued that since the Chinese did not believe in Christianity, they could not swear an oath to God. Yet their testimony—and honesty—needed to be validated. After consultation over the suitability of killing a chicken in the courtroom, the judge substituted a less bloody Chinese oath. Burning "joss sticks," the witnesses swore to honesty. "If we do not tell the truth we will be ready to be put out like the joss stick," they declared, dropping the lit incense to "the floor sharply." Indeed, one reporter told readers that many Chinese spectators "brought the aromatic atmosphere of the east" into the court with them. The prodigious use of incense infused clothing and insured that Chinese bodies stood out as foreign. Coupled with actions and beliefs embodying their foreignness, this made it easy for whites to point out their status as sojourners.³³ With their testimony accepted, Yen found himself convicted. The entire affair emphasized the racial marking that emerged in the yawning gulf between Chinese and American ways of life as well as the daily struggle by Chinese immigrants and local residents to make sense of that gulf.

In the eyes of most whites, incense could never cover up the dirt and disease—the former suggested by the latter—that supposedly permeated Chinatown. Plum Alley and its environs became a germ haven by virtue of the prominence of Chinese bodies.³⁴ Simply put, to white observers, Chinatown's cleanliness paled in comparison to the broader city.³⁵ The buildings in it proved densely packed with Chinese residents. The very architecture of Chinatown allowed for flexible use and supposedly led to poor health as well as immorality.³⁶ In 1900 a "three-story brick building, modern in every respect," proposed for "the corner of Commercial Street and Plum alley" by "Celestial Capitalists" would feature stores on the ground floor, apartments above, and room for "Chinese Masons and Chinese Odd Fellows" on the third floor.³⁷ Utility emerged as the most important aspect of any building in Chinatown, given the racism that spatially constricted Chinese life in Salt Lake City. Large numbers of

³³ *Salt Lake Herald*, March 19, 1897; Liestman, "Utah's Chinatowns," 79.

³⁴ For a similar situation in San Francisco, see Nayan Shah, *Contagious Divides: Epidemics and Race in San Francisco's Chinatown* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).

³⁵ The revolution in public health fostered by Louis Pasteur's "discovery" of germs in the 1870s—as well as the absolute transformations of public health understandings in Europe and in America can be found in Bruno Latour, *The Pasteurization of France* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988).

³⁶ Don Mitchell points this out about Chinatowns across California in his *The Lie of the Land: Migrant Workers and the California Landscape* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 96.

³⁷ *Salt Lake Tribune*, February 7, 1900.



Interior of a building located on Salt Lake City's Plum Alley in 1940.

single male boarders lived in Chinatown, crammed together in small spaces. In 1900, ten Chinese men lived at 12 Plum Alley (along with the “joss house” mentioned earlier). Fifty-one Plum Alley, with three stories and a basement, sported a store on the first floor and twenty Chinese boarders. A narrow three-story building at 15 Commercial Street housed twenty- six Chinese men and four Chinese women.

In a city modeled on spacious city blocks, streets, and buildings, close quarters of mostly single men signaled poor health as well as immorality. It also highlighted the peculiarity (to white residents) of bachelors living in close quarters—a living situation that signaled unhealthy sexual perversion. Historian Nayan Shah suggests that the resulting “queer domesticity” challenged, threatened, and undermined white middle class ideals of living, as well as morality and health.³⁸ Even the smells of the Chinese boarders pointed to the public health threat Chinatown posed to the city at large. According to a writer for the *Salt Lake Herald*, those Chinese bodies smelled of “steeped tea leaves, a deathlike odor of opium, and other indefinable perfumes of Asia.”³⁹ Their “aromatic atmosphere” struck white noses.⁴⁰ In fact, the bodies of the collectively cramped Chinese residents of Chinatown made for a “dark and badly-scented alley.”⁴¹

It was also thought that the actions of those bodies brought disease to the area. Chinese laundries and boarding houses could be fined for “a nuisance in the shape of a cesspool” behind the buildings.⁴² Cesspools bred germs. That Chinese workers lived in spaces that fostered daily contact with cesspools further fixed the uncleanness of both. Together with Chinese residents, the cesspools made for the “uncleanly and foul smelling precincts of Plum Alley.”⁴³ According to the *Salt Lake Tribune*, even the “darkness of plum alley” bred diseases, given the belief that light seemed to hold some

³⁸ Shah, *Contagious Divides*, 77-104.

³⁹ *Salt Lake Herald*, March 19, 1897.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ *Salt Lake Tribune*, October 15, 1900.

⁴² *Salt Lake Herald*, September 29, 1888.

⁴³ *Deseret Evening News*, February 8, 1902.

germs at bay.⁴⁴ The use of light and dark to describe Salt Lake City's Chinatown proved more than metaphorical. After all, it was a place inhabited by non-white bodies. Those diseases—supposedly fostered by Chinese actions and associations—carried weighty consequences when the germs could potentially spread beyond Plum Alley, as they seemed to do in April 1891. That month, San Francisco police arrested a “Chinese leper woman, Choy” from Salt Lake City. In the midst of an ongoing campaign against Chinese lepers, San Francisco authorities asserted that the city had enough to worry about “without having to keep hospitals for all the states and territories of the Pacific slope.”⁴⁵ Ah Choy would be returned to Salt Lake City. Meantime, the *Salt Lake Herald* argued, “our municipal authorities should investigate the matter.” “If the woman did not come from this city,” the paper suggested, they should “forbid her coming here.”⁴⁶ As one of the diseases most associated with the Chinese in America, and as a disease of the flesh, leprosy seemed to be spread through physical contact—sexual or otherwise.⁴⁷ In a country where the physical degradation of blood accounted for racial inferiority and defined personal identities, the already well known poor quality of blood in Chinese bodies made them seem well-suited for carrying disease.⁴⁸ The supposedly degenerate blood of the bodies of Chinese immigrants made those bodies havens for germs. That Chinese public health offenders could be cited again and again further suggested to whites they did not care about cesspools or the lepers in their midst. In fact, it reinforced notions that Chinese residents were comfortable with germs in and around their bodies.

Particular crimes that emerged as specifically Chinese—because they seemed to cluster in the buildings along Plum Alley—also racially marked Chinese localities as dirty and immoral. Gambling and opium use, both central to Chinese lifestyles, proved Chinese residents' immorality to white observers. The first police raid on Chinese opium use and gambling in Salt Lake City took place in 1879, in Plum Alley.⁴⁹ Arrest records for gambling offences consistently cited addresses in Chinatown through the 1890s.⁵⁰ In 1898, nineteen of the forty-five arrests by city police of Chinese lawbreakers involved “keeping a gambling house.” One man, Chin Chin, paid a \$20 fine five times that year.⁵¹ Gambling itself was not the issue. Creating a

⁴⁴ *Salt Lake Tribune*, October 15, 1900.

⁴⁵ *Salt Lake Herald*, April 14, 1891. For that campaign, see Shah, *Contagious Divides*, 97–101.

⁴⁶ *Salt Lake Herald*, April 14, 1891.

⁴⁷ Shah, *Contagious Divides*, 100.

⁴⁸ See Stuart C. Gilman, “Degeneracy and Race in the Nineteenth Century: The Impact of Clinical Medicine,” *Journal of Ethnic Studies* 10, no. 4 (1983): 27–50; George W. Stocking, Jr., “The Turn-of-the-Century Concept of Race,” *Modernism/Modernity* 1, no. 1 (1993): 4–16; Sarah E. Chinn, *Technology and the Logic of American Racism: A Cultural History of the Body as Evidence* (New York: Continuum, 2000).

⁴⁹ *Salt Lake Daily Herald*, November 20, 1879.

⁵⁰ Salt Lake City Police Department, Register of Arrests, D4611, Box 1 and 2, Utah State Archives. Through 1895, 51 Plum Alley was cited several times, as were 5, 11, 12, and 49 Plum Alley. In 1896, 13 and 15 Plum Alley were cited. After 1896, addresses were not noted.

⁵¹ Salt Lake City Police Department, Register of Arrests, D4611, Box 2, Utah State Archives.

space to gamble, and offering it to others, was. Gambling houses also served as venues for smoking opium. The presence of Chinese opium suppliers and ready customers willing to part with money not only made the spaces for gambling immoral, but also made them prime police targets for drug infractions. Policemen periodically raided the houses, fining the proprietors, or jailing them. Most of the arrests made in Chinese opium dens (which were almost always gambling dens as well) in the 1890s involved white customers.⁵² The one explicit raid on Chinese opium users in 1898 found Ah Ling arrested alongside a white laborer named Charles Johnson. Johnson served ten days in the city jail, while Ling got off with no fine or jail time.⁵³ The city police court assumed Chinese opiate use as natural to their racial degradation as well as their living spaces, but worked to obstruct white use of the same.

Discouraging white gambling, opium use, and other vices proved difficult for city fathers when Chinatown sported, as the *Salt Lake Tribune* put it, sociable “Japanese, Chinese, negroes, and whites” on any given night.⁵⁴ When coupled with gambling and opium use, Chinatown became a place for white Americans to come in contact with the supposedly diseased bodies of the Chinese, thereby becoming a threat to the cleanliness of the entire city. Chinatown’s cordoned off attractions mixed bodies. The thing that brought all those bodies together, across racial lines, was immorality. Importantly, the mixing of non-Chinese bodies with Chinese bodies in a place defined as Chinese led to shared immorality. The non-Chinese residents of Chinatown—prostitutes—insured more literal physical sharing, embodying the ultimate immorality of Salt Lake City’s Chinese district. In 1898 not a single Chinese person was arrested as a prostitute or in consort with prostitutes, unlike many black and white men. Nor were any Chinese prostitutes living and working in Salt Lake City in 1898.⁵⁵ Yet a link between sexual immorality and Chinatown flourished in the minds of Utahns because the spatial locus of prostitution overlapped with Chinatown. Prostitutes of every other race worked in buildings along Commercial Street. Just a quarter of a block away, Plum Alley featured a “female boarding house” across the street from Chinese stores and apart-

⁵² Salt Lake City Police Department, Register of Arrests, D4611, Box 1 and 2, Utah State Archives.

⁵³ Ibid., Box 2.

⁵⁴ *Salt Lake Tribune*, October 15, 1900.

⁵⁵ Liestman notes the arrest of two Chinese women on prostitution charges in the 1870s in Salt Lake City. See Liestman, “Utah’s Chinatowns,” 78. Census records for 1900 do not suggest the presence of Chinese prostitutes in Plum Alley. No Chinese women seem to have been arrested for prostitution in the 1890s, though a trio of Japanese women was picked up regularly. See Salt Lake City Police Department, Register of Arrests, D4611, Box 1 and 2, Utah State Archives. For the broad story of prostitution in Salt Lake City, see Jeffrey Donald Nichols, “Prostitution and Polygamy: The Contest Over Morality in Salt Lake City, 1847-1918,” (Ph.D. diss., University of Utah, 1998) and *Prostitution, Polygamy, and Power: Salt Lake City, 1847-1918* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2002). For prostitution in the American West, see Anne M. Butler, *Daughters of Joy, Sisters of Misery: Prostitution in the American West* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985).

ments, and another between those stores and dwellings and a Chinese tenement on the same side. The alley also sported saloons suitable for picking up customers.⁵⁶

On a typical Saturday evening, one could “occasionally” see “a female figure” flit “in from one of the side streets” and be “swallowed up in...Plum Alley.”⁵⁷ With prostitution firmly entrenched there, Chinatown emerged as a serious threat to respectable white citizens. The mixing of sex, alcohol, gambling, and opium could lead to an occasional “pistol shot...heard to ring out from Plum alley.”⁵⁸ Crimes committed by Chinese residents against non-Chinese visitors to Plum Alley or the associated businesses and residences on Commercial Street were rare. Instead, most of the reported crime in the district involved whites or blacks. In 1893, one client of a house on Plum Alley met up with his angry wife, who “located her hubby, dragged him by the coat collar out of the house and compelled him, at the business end of a knife, to...return home with her.” That same night, an African American prostitute down the alley and around the corner found herself the victim of “assault with a deadly weapon.” She survived, but the miner who shot her ended up in jail.⁵⁹

Chinatown’s feminine attractions led to the regulation of white association with Chinese dwellers there. As early as 1891, Salt Lake City’s Chinatown and its Chinese residents became the focus of a major prostitution investigation. The U.S. Marshal for Utah Territory, Elias Parsons, began a “crusade in the interest of moral reform” by “raiding Jim Ling’s opium den on Commercial Street” as well as “Wing Hop’s gambling game on the same thoroughfare.” Many in the city expected him to turn to the “large brick building” around the corner “on Plum alley, in which at times a score or more Mongolians find lodgement.” But the building had yet to “be honored with an official invasion.” “Within its four walls,” prostitution flourished, opium was “smoked with a pipe and impunity,” and the “guttural tones” of gamblers could “be heard far into the night.” The reason? Parsons was “the principal owner of the building.” Renting it to the Chinese made it the “best paying property in the city.” In fact, to insure their stay, Parsons often “volunteered to pay” the city taxes of “his Chinese tenants.” Accused of shielding “his own degraded tenants,” the marshal’s inaction and clear

⁵⁶ Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps for Plum Alley and Commercial Street, 1898, #103. Franklin Avenue and Victoria Alley, a half-block and a block away, respectively, offered another concentration of houses of prostitution. See *Salt Lake Tribune*, September 7, 1898; June 2, 1899; September 15, 1899; September 16, 1899. Franklin Avenue, in particular, proved a target for reform by middle-class white women in Salt Lake City in the 1890s. Interestingly, Plum Alley never proved a similar target for this constituency. See Nichols, “Prostitution and Polygamy,” 235-50. In 1908 the city decided to build a district specifically for prostitutes further from Commercial Street, Plum Alley, and the central business district. It lasted only three years. Prostitutes then headed back to Commercial Street and Plum Alley. See John S. McCormick, “Red Lights in Zion: Salt Lake City’s Stockade, 1908-1911,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 50 (Spring 1982): 168-81.

⁵⁷ *Salt Lake Tribune*, October 15, 1900.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, February 7, 1900.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, January 23, 1893.

violation of morality outraged the city.⁶⁰ Brought down by his collusion with Chinese immorality, Marshal Parsons proved one of many white men sucked into the vice of Chinatown and the many Chinese bodies that defined it.

In this case and in others, prostitution reinforced conceptions of Chinese men as immoral. While other residents of the city ventured there for a good time, the Chinese were the only men to live along Plum Alley proper. Indeed, the building in question in the Parsons case housed “a restaurant, barber-shop, stores, gambling-rooms, opium dens, and prostitutes.” The very mixed use for buildings that made Chinatown distinctive in the larger city (and resulted from the concentration of Chinese bodies) also helped make Chinatown the heart of the city’s vice district. The logic was circular. That the Chinese were immoral made the presence of prostitutes logical. Sharing cramped quarters with prostitutes strengthened the associations between the Chinese and immorality—as well as the perception that Chinese immigrant men proved especially feminine.⁶¹ In Chinatowns across the nation as well as in Salt Lake City, many thought the proximity and use of opium supplied by Chinese residents of Chinatown encouraged white women to become prostitutes.⁶² Furthermore, the bodily contact and venereal disease furthered through prostitution pointed to the un-cleanliness and ill health of all those who lived in the small area, even those not involved in prostitution. More directly, Chinese opium pipes carried innumerable germs. Given that many mouths shared the same pipe, that pipe (as well as prostitution) furthered the spread of syphilis, an otherwise sexual disease.⁶³ That Chinese residents continued to smoke opium from a common pipe, live among prostitutes, live in cramped housing, and live with cesspools in the backs of their homes and businesses fixed their poor health as real. Coming full circle, the foreignness, immorality, and poor health of Plum Alley and those who lived there fixed the biological degeneration of Asian blood as real.

Respectable whites could go into that part of the city racially set apart by perception and by the bodies that inhabited it as Chinatown—but only during the Chinese New Year, when normal race relations seemed to relent. Fascinated by more public displays of Chinese culture, Salt Lake City’s white population thrilled to the annual celebration of the Chinese New Year. Prominent businessmen flocked to Plum Alley in 1900 to see their Chinese counterparts ring in the new year with firecrackers, an

⁶⁰ Ibid., November 21, 1891.

⁶¹ These arguments appeared in the years leading to exclusion. See Karen J. Leong, “‘A Distinct and Antagonistic Race’: Constructions of Chinese Manhood in the Exclusionist Debates,” in *Across the Great Divide: Cultures of Manhood in the American West*, ed. Matthew Basso, Laura McCall, and Dee Garceau (New York: Routledge, 2001), 131–148. The arguments stuck. See Floyd Cheung, “‘Kingdoms of Manly Style’: Performing Chinese American Masculinity, 1865–1941,” (Ph. D. diss., Tulane University, 1999), 36–101.

⁶² Shah, *Contagious Divides*, 94.

⁶³ Ibid., 95.

"elaborate banquet...half-a-dozen kinds of liquors...real tea...and cigars."⁶⁴ Two years later, revelers "set fire" to fireworks to "frighten away evil spirits." "A constant burning of pong sticks and incense" also worked to keep the "devils away." Many friendly visits and calling cards between Chinese celebrants took up a great deal of the multi-day holiday. Though celebration and inebriation went hand in hand during the Chinese New Year, the white reporter assured readers that "no disturbances will be made by a Mongolian in Salt Lake during the next two weeks." Suddenly, Salt Lake City was proud of its Chinese residents. Decked out in "robes of rich texture and high color," Plum Alley denizens welcomed "hundreds of prominent" white "Salt Lake citizens." As long as one acted "as a gentleman," a white visitor could obtain a guide from the "police department or from residents of the district." With a guide, one would not "be regarded as an intrusion." All told, the spectacle would "give only a faint idea of Chinese life and customs...but will probably be the most adequate one that can be obtained this side of San Francisco or China itself." When the celebration in Salt Lake City ended, "several score of Chinamen" left for Evanston, Wyoming, "to celebrate" with the Chinese living there.⁶⁵

Respectable or not, with a guide or not, whites could enter Chinatown without much difficulty. But Chinese residents of Salt Lake City tended to find trouble whenever they left Plum Alley. Random violence proved far more likely outside Chinatown than within it. In January 1891, "a Chinaman presented himself at police headquarters...badly beaten and bruised by a crowd of boys" as he walked the city streets. Police arrested three of the white boys later that day.⁶⁶ In October 1893 young Charles Arnup faced trial for stoning Wong Kong Kim to death at the corner of Third South and Ninth East. Arnup earned a two-year term in the state penitentiary.⁶⁷ Sometimes Chinese victims proved more defensive. In February 1895 Ah Tom, who ran "a market garden on North Temple street," found himself the target of young white boy's snowballs. He ran inside, got his "bull-dog calibre 38," and "began firing at the boy." He missed, but the boy kept throwing snow. After reloading, Tom "blazed away" again, this time "taking a piece out" of a man's ear across the street. Retaliation, however, proved counterproductive. Tom found himself under arrest for "assault with intent to commit murder."⁶⁸

Proving their innate foreignness and racial inferiority in the eyes of white Utahns, Chinese residents of Salt Lake City found themselves arrested for mundane offenses by virtue of the same, especially when they moved beyond Chinatown. In the same month Quong Wah sought to marry Dora Harris, Chung Chung, "was called upon in Police Court...to explain why"

⁶⁴ *Salt Lake Tribune*, February 7, 1900.

⁶⁵ *Deseret Evening News*, February 8, 1902.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, January 21, 1891; *Salt Lake Herald*, January 22, 1891.

⁶⁷ *Deseret News*, October 2, 1893, October 9, 1893.

⁶⁸ *Salt Lake Herald*, February 4, 1895.

he was “hanging around a residence on the West Side.” In Chung’s defense, Wing Dun, serving as interpreter, argued that Chung “had been working down south on the Rio Grande Western, and that he was trying to find his way to the house of another Chinaman to obtain work in his garden.” Dun’s words proved persuasive and the judge decided to throw out the charge.⁶⁹ Earlier in the month, “Ching Ying forfeited \$2 for violating the bicycle ordinance.” That ordinance, which decreed all bicycles in use in the city limits needed a bell and a light, was rarely, if ever, enforced.⁷⁰ Five days later, “Charles Chong and Wong Chin, a brace of Celestials,” pleaded guilty to “shooting snipe out of season and were fined \$5 each.” The city arrest register lists no other similar arrest in the 1890s.⁷¹ Unjust charges that led to newspaper expressions of disbelief and sarcasm proved more consequential. The day before Wah and Harris went to procure a marriage license, Sam Lee, “accused of housebreaking” and stealing “fifty cents” claimed the prosecution’s witness was lying. At best, the witness “tended to establish that Lee’s actions were decidedly suspicious.” Countering the flimsy accusation, “the defendant affected to be disgusted with the State’s officials for even intimating that he stole the paltry sum.” Even as he counted on acquittal, the jury noted Lee’s insolence. Found guilty, Lee was sentenced to “eighteen months in the State prison” and denied “a few days” to “get some money...with which to move for a new trial.”⁷² Against this backdrop, the 1894 arrest of Quong Wah comes into clearer focus. Quong Wah was picked up for running a business without a license at his laundry outside Chinatown. The arresting officer likely decided that Wah failed to resubmit the city business license for his laundry. Wah spent the night in the city jail. The next day, the police court judge found Wah not guilty of any offense. Released that afternoon, Wah apparently resumed his daily life.⁷³ When in doubt, city policemen tended to arrest Chinese suspects in the streets beyond Plum Alley and ask questions later.

In its collective of Chinese locations, Chinatown offered a safe harbor. For instance, Chinese immigrants remained foreigners, no matter their country of origin or the length of their residency in the United States. By the mid 1890s, Federal laws excluding Chinese immigration led to the strict regulation of Chinese nationals across the country. The correct legal papers proved crucial for legal survival. In July 1895, “certificates issued to

⁶⁹ *Salt Lake Tribune*, September 14, 1898.

⁷⁰ *Salt Lake Herald*, September 3, 1898; *The Revised Ordinances of Salt Lake City, Utah, Embracing all Ordinances of a General Nature in Force December 20, 1892...*, Joseph Lippman, comp., (Salt Lake City: Tribune Job Printing Company/City Council of Salt Lake City, Utah, 1893), 281.

⁷¹ *Salt Lake Tribune*, September 8, 1898; *Salt Lake Herald*, September 8, 1898; Salt Lake City Police Department, Register of Arrests, D4611, Box 1 and 2, Utah State Archives.

⁷² *Deseret News*, September 14, 1898; *Salt Lake Herald*, September 15, 1898; *Salt Lake Tribune*, September 20, 1898.

⁷³ Wah was arrested June 29, 1894. See Salt Lake City Police Department, Register of Arrests, D4611, Box 1, Utah State Archives. Business license records for Salt Lake City are spotty. The only license found issued to Quong Wah was issued in June 1904, for an unknown enterprise at 121 S. Main. See Salt Lake City, City Assessor Business License Registers, Series 250, Box 1, Utah State Archives.



Chinese residents...which were given them with the object of allowing them to re-enter the country after visiting their homes,” popped up in Salt Lake City. One newspaper surmised, “at least a half dozen Chinamen, who are unlawfully on American soil, are in Zion and are being kept very quiet by their friends.” As one investigator noted, “the finding of a needed Chinaman in Chinatown can only be likened to the discovery of the proverbial needle in the proverbial haystack.”⁷⁴ White tendencies to lump racial characteristics together to apply to all Chinese residents of the city offered those same residents a space in which they might circumvent the immigration regulations.

The Chinese Dragon was one of the most popular entries in the 1897 Pioneer Day Parade in Salt Lake City.

Despite the anonymity offered by Plum Alley in this instance, an informant snitched on three men “who had come here direct from the old country within the past ten days.” Fellow Chinese residents had taken them to “a market garden south of the city.” While it may have been easier to hide the men in Chinatown, events of the next day suggested otherwise. When the news broke that “their passports” came “from a man in Ogden,” Salt Lake City rose in a furor. The Chinese informant “stated that they could be obtained in that city cheaper than anywhere else,” from “the ‘government man.’”⁷⁵ The next day, the *Salt Lake Herald* reported that “a special agent of the revenue department” was coming to Salt Lake City’s Chinatown. There he would make “a systematic canvas” of Plum Alley. Salt Lake City, the paper suggested, needed to watch Chinatown carefully, since it was “very hard to tell how many Chinese there are in this city.” The special agent would insure that “all the little yellow men in the city will be compelled to show their authority for being in this part of the earth.”⁷⁶

⁷⁴ *Salt Lake Tribune*, January 25, 1899.

⁷⁵ *Salt Lake Herald*, July 17, 1895.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, July 18, 1895. Apparently, the census takers “were only partially successful,” and there were “more than twice” the official number of Chinese residents in the town.

Failure to comply might result in imprisonment. Almost a year before, for example, “Wing Le, a Chinese restaurant keeper and Wung Lung, his assistant,” found themselves “taken down to the penitentiary for failure to comply with the act requiring them to register.”⁷⁷

While certificates, false or real, fixed a Chinese person’s ability to legally reside in Salt Lake City, their absence fixed the bodies of Chinese residents as China incarnate. In spatial terms, wherever a Chinese immigrant without the appropriate paperwork went, China and Chinatown went illegally. A Chinese body outside of the space demarcated for it—Chinatown—formed, as one white newspaper reporter put it, an “imperium in imperio.” Chinese residents embodied a particular racial construction and more importantly, carried Chineseness and the associated racial degradation and inferiority from one space to another. In spatial terms, Chinese bodies were literally China, or at the least, Chinatown, in greater Salt Lake City.⁷⁸ When confined to Chinatown, white residents could at least choose when to engage with those bodies. But when those immigrants moved outside, they found more police harassment and more outright danger. Increasing informal restrictions on the mobility of Chinese residents beyond Chinatown proved the only way for white Salt Lakers to control the potential racial invasion they spatially embodied.

On at least one occasion whites in Salt Lake City sought to integrate that racial difference into the broader community. Chinese involvement in the massive 1897 celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the 1847 Mormon emigration to (and white settlement) of Utah suggests a rare deviation from the spatial control outlined above. The parade wound its way through the city to top off the holiday festivities. Invited to prepare a float, the Chinese community offered up an ornate paper-mache dragon, coupled with Chinese musicians. The “tens of thousands” of parade goers quickly claimed the “dragon of Great Salt Lake” as their own. Near “the head of the pageant” and “heralded by a Chinese band,” the dragon proved “friendly.” Only “as a warning to a frail generation” did the “forked scorpion tale [sic] of the monster” periodically lash “from side to side of the dense crowds.” Thankfully, the Chinese band provided “tom-toms...beaten desperately to soothe the monster’s irritation.” The reporter went on to record not only the ferocity of the Chinese float but also its ultimate submissiveness. When the “salt highness,” who resided in the Great Salt Lake, and its Chinese attendants reached the end of the route, the latter “upon hands and knees did obeisance to the deity” of Pioneer Day.⁷⁹ Incorporating the foreign dragon in a celebration of white settlement, parade organiz-

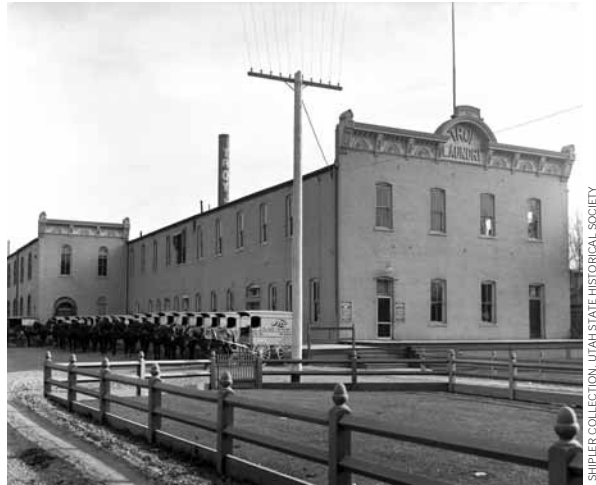
⁷⁷ *Deseret Evening News*, August 6, 1894. These arrests took place in the wake of the renewal of the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1892 and the requirement for Chinese nationals to register for and carry official government identification documents.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, January 17, 1902.

⁷⁹ *Salt Lake Tribune*, July 23, 1897.

ers (and the white man describing the float in such imaginative language) enveloped the Chinese community into the fabric of Salt Lake City by highlighting its fanciful and foreign nature. The Chinese dragon represented Salt Lake where the Chinese community never could. Fanciful invocations connecting the dragon to the Great Salt Lake served to highlight a Chinese presence while subsuming white attempts to spatially restrict it. Furthermore, as those who constructed it no doubt knew, the float itself brought Chinatown and Chineseness out into the broader city, inverting typical spatial restrictions and the racial hierarchy that simultaneously created and resulted from them.⁸⁰

Though they remain sketchy, a few sources tantalizingly suggest that transnational connections may have allowed Chinese residents to more regularly transcend these racial formations and forge spaces in Salt Lake City and beyond it in which they could live a viable immigrant life. Immigrants straddled both the United States and China, bridging the flow of people, goods, and ideas between the two.⁸¹ However small, the critical mass of Chinese immigrants that came together in late nineteenth-century Salt Lake City made it possible to remain connected to Chinese and Chinese American life and live beyond the racial and spatial confines that the white community sought to impose. Along Plum Alley and Commercial Street, immigrant merchants plied their Chinese wares. They kept a steady stream of Chinese dry goods flowing to Salt Lake City. These items helped Chinese immigrants define their American lives as solidly Chinese. The transnational connections also went the other direction, involving more than manufactured goods. Chinese storeowners, including Chin Chin, “the foremost Celestial in the colony, both as to influence and wealth,” traveled back to China periodically,



The Troy Laundry located at 431 South 600 East, was one of the early large scale laundries to challenge the smaller Chinese establishments for Salt Lake City's laundry business in the 1910s.

⁸⁰ For more on the many complications of social order as they relate to parades, see Mary Ryan, “The American Parade: Representations of the Nineteenth-Century Social Order,” in *The New Cultural History*, ed. Lynn Hunt (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989).

⁸¹ For that transnational world before exclusion, see Yong Chen, “The Internal Origins of Chinese Emigration to California Reconsidered,” *Western Historical Quarterly* 28 (Winter 1997): 520-46. For the transnational world after exclusion, see Adam McKeown, “Transnational Chinese Families and Chinese Exclusion, 1875-1943,” *Journal of American Ethnic History* 18 (Winter 1999): 73-110.

despite a wary federal bureaucracy.⁸² In this fashion, Chinese residents of the city constantly challenged the spatial confines and racially defining regulations foisted on them by white residents of the city, let alone federal immigration officials.

For Chin, a wife's death back in China prompted a special trip to retrieve his children. He planned on bringing them back to Utah. When asked as to their legal status if he did so, Chin noted, "they were born in Salt Lake." He successfully brought his children and a new wife back to Salt Lake City. Historian Daniel Liestman notes that Chin had great difficulty returning to Salt Lake City, due in no small part to some in the Chinese community there who conspired against him. False affidavits and accusations of smuggling prostitutes almost kept him and his family away.⁸³ Yet the children appear in the 1910 census, so it appears that Chin succeeded in returning them to their place of birth. Their citizenship status might have been affected by the Supreme Court ruling in 1898 that a person born in the United States to Chinese parents was an American.⁸⁴ These transnational connections even transcended death. When Hing Dup died in January 1898, he "was buried in the Chinese cemetery...with all the ceremony and trimmings of a Chinese funeral." If his funeral proved anything like the Salt Lake City burial of Chin La Pin in 1889, it likely involved burying Dup's personal property and food with him, the burning of his money, and a large "procession." As with many Chinese who died in Utah, his body would be sent back to China after "four or five months."⁸⁵

All told, the racial formation of Chinese immigrants in Salt Lake City during the late-nineteenth-century depended on local understandings of those immigrants' use of language and associations with public health and morality as much as it did on the national definitions of Chineseness that circulated around blood and kinship. Indeed, white residents spawned concurrent spatial understandings of the city and the place of Chinese residents in it. Chinese residents of Salt Lake City, on the other hand, may have turned to their transnational connections to transcend the strictures of race and space imposed on them by local whites. Taken together, these actions suggest that racial formation, as much as outright racism—and the Chinese community's reactions to both—shaped a spatial understanding of Salt Lake City in which its Chinatown could simultaneously be a den of dirtiness and immorality and a profitable and useful home for Chinese immigrants by the turn of the twentieth-century.

⁸² *Deseret Evening News*, February 8, 1902 and Liestman, "Utah's Chinatowns," 86. For a discussion of the ability of merchants to leave the United States and return despite exclusion laws, see Brian Thornton, "Exceptions to the Rule: Chinese Merchants and the Exclusion Laws, 1890-1894," *Pacific Northwest Forum* 6 (Winter-Spring 1993): 50-59.

⁸³ See *Deseret Evening News*, January 3, 1903, and Liestman, "Utah's Chinatowns," 86.

⁸⁴ See Brook Thomas, "China Men, *United States v. Wong Kim Ark*, and the Question of Citizenship," *American Quarterly* 50 (December 1998): 689-717.

⁸⁵ See *Salt Lake Tribune*, January 22, 1898, and *Salt Lake Tribune*, September 27, 1889.

Abiel Leonard, the Bishop as Builder

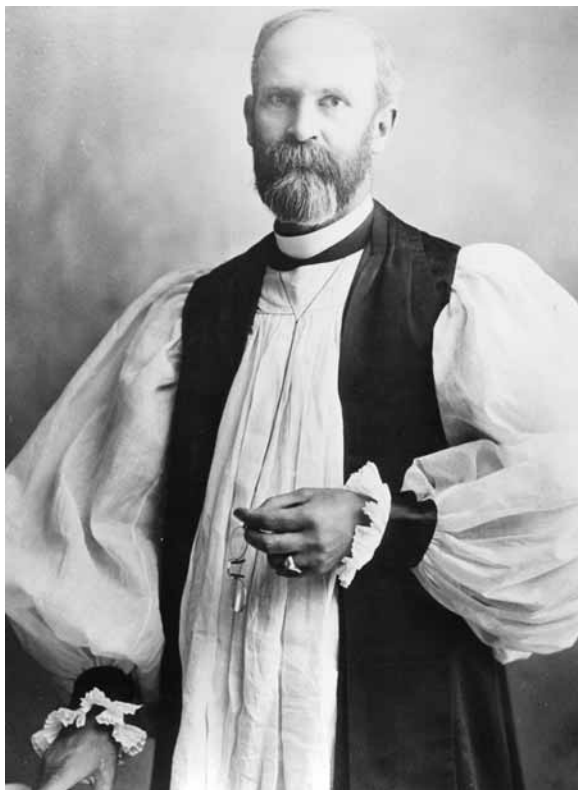
By FREDERICK QUINN

The nearly sixteen-year cautious but competent episcopate of Abiel Leonard in Utah (1888-1903) is bracketed by the more highly visible terms of Daniel S. Tuttle (1867-1887) and Franklin Spenser

Spalding (1903-1914), two giants of the national Episcopal Church. Leonard's role was like appearing in the batting order between Lou Gehrig and Babe Ruth. Leonard was a hard worker who built nineteen missions and raised three hundred thousand dollars, a substantial feat, for he had neither Tuttle's contacts nor Spalding's eloquence.¹

Abiel Leonard was born on June 26, 1848, and grew up in Fayette, Missouri, where his father was a state supreme court judge, land speculator, and slave owner. A distant relative and namesake served as a chaplain to George Washington in the American Revolution. On his mother's side, Leonard was descended from Connecticut Congregationalists. From Fayette days he developed a lifelong friendship with Ethelbert Talbot, later Missionary Bishop of Wyoming and Idaho, Bishop of Central Pennsylvania for thirty years, and briefly Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church in Utah after Tuttle's death. Mrs. Leonard and Mrs. Talbot were friends, "And many a time

Abiel Leonard.



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¹ For studies of Utah Episcopalian Bishops see James W. Beless, Jr., "The Episcopal Church in Utah: Seven Bishops and One Hundred Years," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 36 (Winter 1968); and John R. Sillito with Timothy S. Hearn, "A Question of Conscience: The Resignation of Bishop Paul Jones," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 50 (Summer 1982).

the two little babies were rocked by the same old black mammy in the same cradle," the *Salt Lake Utah Herald* reported at Leonard's death.²

The future bishop graduated from Dartmouth College in 1870 and from General Theological Seminary in New York City in 1873. After eight years in the Diocese of Missouri as rector of Calvary Church in Sedalia and Trinity Church in Hannibal, he moved to Atchison, Kansas, as rector of Trinity Church where he stayed for seven years. His wife, Flora Terry, was a native of Sedalia, and the couple had five children. An unsuccessful candidate in the election for Bishop of Missouri, he was named a missionary bishop at age thirty-nine, most likely with the support of Tuttle. Consecrated bishop in St. Louis, Missouri, on January 25, 1888, by Tuttle and several other bishops, Leonard's vast missionary district was realigned in 1895, making him Bishop of Nevada, Utah, and Western Colorado. Realigned once more in October 1898 and now called the Missionary District of Salt Lake, it still included slices of Nevada, Colorado, and Wyoming. Leonard described his territory in 1900 as "one of the most extensive and difficult in the American church."³

The Bishop was often on the move, sometimes by train, but mostly by stagecoach. Once while visiting the mining town of Eureka, Nevada, he held a service on the second floor of a saloon when a bullet passed through the floor not far from his feet. His letterhead contained a printed reminder, "If you do not receive a reply to your letter within thirty days, you may know that I am absent and on a visitation. Always address me at Salt Lake City." In his 1902 report he wrote:

Last year I traveled 20,000 miles of which 12,000 were traveled in the district, and 1000 of those miles were made by stage, and this means a great consumption of time. As a result I am away from Salt Lake three-fourths of the time, and it is not unusual to be away three or four weeks at a time. A man with young children would need to become acquainted with his children after each of such trips. One of my own children, when very young, wanted to know after I returned from a long trip, "Whether I would remain to lunch."⁴

Three types of communities existed in late nineteenth-century Utah, Leonard believed: mining towns, with a ready clientele for the church and money to support it; railroad towns, which were unstable because the work force moved frequently; and agricultural communities filled with poor farmers trying to establish themselves in new places. The scattered farm communities would be attracted to the church, but rural churches had few prospects for becoming self-sufficient. He avoided work in large LDS communities, focusing instead on mixed urban centers like Salt Lake City and Ogden, and on the church's schools and hospital, which he continued to enlarge.

² *Salt Lake Utah Herald*, December 6, 1903.

³ Abiel Leonard to W.S. Leake, San Francisco, Ca., July 6, 1900, p. 131, Episcopal Diocesan Archives, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah, Accn 426 Bx 11 Bk 1. (Hereinafter, only the accession number, box numbers and books will be cited.)

⁴ Quoted in James W. Beless, Jr., "The Episcopal Church in Utah," 82.

In *The Spirit of Missions*, a church monthly magazine, Leonard said,

We are far away in these mountains, far from the great centers of wealth, influence, and learning. The people who have come hither are those who have come to regain their health in this invigorating climate; poor people, having no capital, who have come where they fancy that opportunities are more numerous; or young people first setting out in life. There are few conventionalities, and the moral tone is not so high as in more settled communities. Mining is, of course, the great industry.⁵

Leonard was far more cautious than Tuttle and also had fewer resources and contacts. "My own policy has always been to be exceedingly careful about going into any of these towns to do missionary work," he wrote. Sometimes opportunities were lost, he acknowledged, because, "we did not know in which way to turn to secure the proper missionary, or to find some needed money with which to support him."⁶ The adjective "sober" fits Leonard's character. He was exacting on clergy and parishes. Stingy giving from parishes and the lack of motivation by clergy, he said, makes "us all hang our heads with shame," adding, "let us remember that our first duty is to the great church; that to her we owe our highest allegiance, and that when we have discharged this duty we may rightly consider lesser claims."⁷

His comments on public issues of the day were rare, though in 1903 he did send a letter to Rabbi Louis G. Reynolds of Salt Lake City. Leonard was unable to attend a meeting where Russian persecution of Jews was discussed, but later remarked, "I should certainly desire to be counted at all times as on the side of fair and righteous dealings, and if any word of mine could be helpful in such a cause, I should be glad to speak it."⁸

Leonard was temperate in his infrequent remarks on the Latter-day Saints. Several anti-LDS organizations, such as the New Movement for the Redemption of Utah, and the Overthrow of Mormonism, tried to enlist his support, but were unsuccessful. In a state of 275,000 persons, 200,000 of whom were members of the LDS church, he told a colleague, "It has never been our custom to antagonize the Mormons.... I do not see how we could accomplish any good results by so doing. I think they respect us as much, if not more, than any other religious body. Of course, they do not love us any too much and would prefer our room to our company, but as long as there must be other people here, I think they look kindly upon us."⁹

Twelve parishes existed in Utah at the beginning of the twentieth century, but only the four longest-established ones had full-time clergy, only one of whom had been in Utah more than three years. The 1902 annual report

⁵ *Western Missionary Work, The Spirit of Missions*, New York City, March 1897, p. 123

⁶ "Missionary District of Salt Lake, Ariel Leonard, Bishop," typed report, n.d., pp. 371-383, (filed in March 1901) Accn 426 Bx 11 Bk 1.

⁷ The Missionary District of Salt Lake, *Journal of Convention* (September 1901), p. 24. Accn 426 Bx 1 Fd 5.

⁸ Abiel Leonard to Rabbi Reynolds, May 29, 1903, Nevada and Utah Official Correspondence, June 1898 – November 1903, p. 50. Accn 426, Bx 10.

⁹ Abiel Leonard to C.H. Schultz, Cleveland, Ohio, February 21, 1901, pp. 325-326, Accn. 426 Bx 11 Bk 1.

listed 375 communicants at St. Mark's Cathedral and 275 at St. Paul's, both in Salt Lake City, and 137 at Good Shepherd, in Ogden. The total number of Utah communicants was 916 persons.¹⁰ Leonard also had responsibility for seventeen other parishes in Nevada, Wyoming, and Colorado, which took up much of his time.

Funds to operate the church were tight in Utah and in 1901 the national church's missionary budget was one hundred thousand dollars short of its goal for its numerous mission ventures. Notwithstanding the severe financial situation, Bishop Leonard made progress securing properties in Provo and Springville as well as a site for a new mission in the southern part of Salt Lake City. Congregations were formed in Layton and Eureka, a growing mining town located thirty miles southwest of Provo. In 1901 the Rev. O. E. Ostenson began work in Vernal, a town of six hundred persons in northeastern Utah. Services were initially held in Jake Workman's Opera House, where the proprietor was pleased to lend his premises to the new church because "Episcopals were ladies and gentlemen and didn't spit all over the floor."¹¹ A local person had told the Bishop "If you succeed in building and maintaining a church here we think you can succeed anywhere."¹²

A small congregation, St. Luke's, was organized in the mining town of Park City in 1888. A women's guild and a Brotherhood of St. Andrew's chapter did much of the preparatory work and in 1889 a small wooden church was constructed on Park Avenue. In addition, St. Andrew's did much good caring for the poor and less fortunate. An 1889 article in *Church Notes* stated:

About nine days ago a poor man was found dead on the mountains near here, having committed suicide while insane it is supposed. The members of St. Andrew's Society raised money enough to bury him and took charge of the funeral. The church service was read at Lawrence's Hall, and the young men accompanied the body to the grave. An ice cream and strawberry festival, held last week under the auspices of the St. Andrew's Society and the Guild of Willing Hands, cleared \$106 for the widow and children of the poor lunatic.¹³

The Park City church led a tenuous existence in its early years. A conflagration that destroyed much of Park City in June 1898 also destroyed the budding church. Determined church members began rebuilding and replaced the structure in 1901.

His voluminous correspondence reveals Utah's second Episcopal bishop to be a patient, details-oriented administrator. Leonard worked hard, even to the point of near physical exhaustion. Reflecting back on two years of

¹⁰ Beless, "The Episcopal Church in Utah," 83.

¹¹ Kathleen Irving, "St. Paul's Celebrates 100 Years." Folder #1671, Uintah County Regional History Room, Vernal, Utah.

¹² The Missionary District of Salt Lake, Journal of Convention (September 1901), p. 24. Accn 426 Bx 1 Fd 5.

¹³ Beless, "The Episcopal Church in Utah," 83.



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work, "I have not been away from my work for two years, with the exception of a few weeks last Fall when I was well nigh broken down. I expect therefore to spend two months in the East this winter."¹⁴

Frustration pervades his reports; money problems were endemic, progress slow, and clergy and some laity were only partially responsive to the bishop. Many of Leonard's letters thank donors for their contributions of a dollar or other small sums of money donated for the purchase of property for the church, or for building improvements. As other bishops would, he urged clergy to pay their personal debts, about which he sometimes received letters from creditors. Leonard often reminded the clergy that collections taken during the bishop's visitation should be added to the bishop's discretionary fund: "Let the people be taught to feel that they have a distinct and definite interest in the Bishop as an individual, and in the personal work which he may be called to do....We feel very sure that if this thought were presented to the people, and commented upon from time to time, a decided interest in the matter would be awakened."¹⁵

The extensive correspondence of Bishop Leonard provides valuable insights into clergy personnel conditions in the huge new missionary district, reflecting difficulties missionary bishops faced. It was hard to recruit

Abiel Leonard is seated second from the left in this photograph with other Episcopalian clergy and leaders from the Montana, Utah, and Idaho Missionary District.

¹⁴ Abiel Leonard to the Bishop of Pennsylvania, October 6, 1900, p. 276, Accn 426 Bx 10, Bk 3.

¹⁵ The Missionary District of Salt Lake, Journal of Convention (September 1901), pp. 24-25, Accn 426 Bx 1 Fd 5.

and retain qualified clergy for the poorly paying isolated churches and attending to those in need of financial or medical attention was a reoccurring problem. The rector of St. Paul's Church in Salt Lake City, Ellis Bishop, had to resign because, "he could not stand the strain upon his nervous system made by the high altitude of this intermountain region." Another clergy left to "go for the winter to a warmer climate in Texas."¹⁶ Lamenting over these problems, Leonard wrote to a friend in New York, "Our western work has suffered greatly in the past from untrained and tactless men. So far as I am concerned, I am disposed to cover a few places well with good men, rather than spend time, money and strength with men who are utterly unfit to cope with our Western work."¹⁷

Leonard was solicitous of his more able clergy. When he heard that O. E. Ostenson, who had built up the church in Vernal, was traveling to Salt Lake City, he wrote:

I would suggest that if the train is late you had better stay all night at Price and come down on the morning train. Even when the train is on time it is almost midnight when it gets here. Telegraph me from Price when to expect you, and if I am not at the train, come right up to the house. If you have time in Price, call on Judge [William H.] Frye who, although not a churchman is interested in our services. Mr. McDonald the Station Agent is a Knight Templar."¹⁸

While most of his letters were guarded, sometimes Leonard's enthusiasm for effective workers crept through. He told a prospective hire: "I want you because I feel that you would be such a strength to the work, not only at St. Paul's but throughout the jurisdiction. I want all the strong men that I can find to lean upon. One thing it seems to me which should commend this work is that it is not finished, but just in that condition where a good, earnest and industrious man can make a wonderful impression."¹⁹

Some placements did not work out, as this letter from Leonard to another bishop reveals:

The writer is not of course a first-class man. If he were I should not be disposed to let him go. He is as men go an average sort of a person, a man I should judge of about fifty years of age. He is inoffensive, does not make any trouble, and gets along well with people. He is in no sense attractive, but if you have some quiet country work where people do not demand too much, he will get along very well. To succeed in this part of the world, one must be very active, and have some ability as a preacher as well as an organizer.... I should be very glad if you could give him something, and I do not want you to feel that I am trying to push off on you a man who is utterly worthless. That is not by any means the case."²⁰

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 13.

¹⁷ Abiel Leonard to George H. Cornell, Geneva, N.Y., July 6, 1900, p. 130, Accn 426 Bx 11 Bk 1.

¹⁸ Abiel Leonard to O.E. Ostenson, August 21, 1903, Nevada and Utah Official Correspondence, June 1898 – November 1903, p. 135, Accn 426 Bx 10

¹⁹ Abiel Leonard to Johnson, January 28, 1902, pp. 94-95, Bishop Leonard Copy Book, 1902-1903, Accn 426 Bx 11.

²⁰ Leonard to Hare, August 17, 1903, Nevada and Utah Official Correspondence, June 1898 – November 1903, p. 129, Accn 426 Bx 10.

Bishop Leonard was not above writing to his ministers to comment on their performance. To one minister in Provo he wrote:

I am in a good deal of a quandary about you. I must speak very frankly to you and say the people do not want you to return to Springville and Provo. They say that your voice is weak and that they can't hear what you have to say. They also criticize your untidy appearance in dress. You know that I told you a year ago I could only pay you a stipend of five hundred dollars and that the balance of the support must come from the people. I am satisfied that you would get nothing there. Then as a further complication you have applied to Bishop Hare for work saying that you do not like Utah, and that you want to go East, and so on and so forth. Under all these circumstances it seems useless for you to go back to Springville and Provo and stay there a little while, and then when I cannot get anyone else to pull up stakes and go away.²¹

Not all of his clergy encounters went smoothly. In 1902 he noted that relations between bishop and rector in Ogden had cooled, and such ties as exist between, "the Bishop and his clergy and the several congregations ought to be of the most affectionate and loyal character. I am not aware that I have done anything to cause these relations to be otherwise. To be perfectly frank, I have felt that there has not been entire frankness displayed with me in the conduct of the work."²² Relations were no better at the cathedral. "Bishop Leonard's work was always handicapped by the trouble he had with the Rector of St. Mark's," George C. Hunting, superintendent of St. Mark's Hospital observed.²³

In another situation, Leonard demonstrated touching pastoral care for a young alcoholic clergy. Seeking help from the bishop of Pennsylvania, he wrote:

I have a young clergyman who has a terrible inheritance. His mother and grandfather I am told died of delirium tremens.... The young man of whom I speak seems to have inherited this terrible tendency. I need hardly say that he has made a sad fall. He seems penitent enough and willing to make amends.... What to do is the thing which perplexes me. He has no money nor have I. He should be in a sanitarium under constant restraint for several months. I do not like to let go of him for this means the destruction of a human soul. It is not a time for me to lecture him because he is not in a physical condition to appreciate what I might say. I think I have said enough to show you what a sad case this is. Now to the point. Is there any church institution in or about Philadelphia where such a man could be treated? If there is, would you be willing to use your influence to secure for him the very lowest rates? I feel of course that this is asking a good deal personally of you, but this is not a case about which a Bishop likes to talk to many persons.... May I ask if you would send a night message at my expense saying something like this. "He can be received at ____ institution for ____ dollars per month." There is no place of this kind anywhere in this part of the country, and moreover I want to get the young man away where these things will not be known. I want if

²¹ Abiel Leonard to Unidentified Diocesan Clergy, August 26, 1903, Nevada and Utah Official Correspondence, June 1898 – November 1903, p. 143, Accn 426 Bx 10.

²² Abiel Leonard to Grout, January 24, 1902, p. 76, Bishop Leonard Copy Book, 1902-1903, Accn 426 Bx 11.

²³ George C. Hunting to Franklin Spenser Spalding, January 30, 1906, p. 2., Diocesan Archives, a scattered collection of papers found within the Episcopal Church Archives, Accn. 426. (Hereinafter referred to D.A.).



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**St. Mark's Episcopal Church,
Salt Lake City.**

possible to save him. The reason I ask you to telegraph is because it is very necessary to act with all haste.²⁴

Neither Tuttle's lucidity nor Spalding's intellectual flare were in Leonard's makeup. The bishop was a steady, consistent person of uncomplicated faith, always using capital letters when typing GOD, and rarely showing any emotion, except profound sadness once at the death of his son, and frustration when he temporarily lost the use of

an eye. He was an almost Dickensian accountant in the keeping of records, and it frustrated him that clergy did not do likewise so he could compile reliable diocesan statistics. "I cannot speak in too strong terms about this matter. It puts your bishop in an uncomfortable position—he appears to be derelict in his own duty, when in reality the fault lies with those who have been so careless in the preparation of their own reports."²⁵

A typical entry dated September 22, 1899, described the church's financial problems:

I as Bishop of Salt Lake am borrowing \$1000 from the Utah National Bank....On October 15 I shall probably be compelled to borrow \$3000 and pay up everything. I shall consolidate all I borrowed and give a note for six months. My plan is to give the bank a check on deposit for \$4000 my wife and I have in the Deseret Savings Bank...and then I shall have to [word unintelligible] this amount from church people and pay it off little by little. What a shame that a bishop should be compelled to do this by carrying on work which other religious people do so cheerfully. I pray GOD to send new friends to help carry [this] important work."²⁶

Elsewhere Leonard sought such economies as he could come by: "I told Mr. Kinney [in Eureka] the other day the Baptists might use our building

²⁴ Abiel Leonard to the Bishop of Pennsylvania, October 6, 1900, Nevada and Utah Official Correspondence, June 1898 – November 1903, p. 276, Accn 426 Bx 11.

²⁵ The Missionary District of Salt Lake, Journal of Convention (September 1901), p. 15, Accn 426 Bx 1 Fd 5.

²⁶ The Bishop's House, Salt Lake City, September 22, 1899, Accn 426 Bx 8 Fd 6.

on any occasion which did not conflict with our own plans for holding services, and that they might pay for the use of it of \$1.25 for each and every occasion, payment to be made to you. It was further agreed between us that if by reason of the increased number of services the electric light bill should be increased, they would have to stand the additional expenses.”²⁷

Each year Bishop Leonard was given a complimentary railroad pass, which he had to apply for in person. This annual need became bothersome for Bishop Leonard. In an attempt to solve this nettlesome problem he wrote a Wall Street banker whom he knew, asking that he help secure the needed railroad pass.

I want to get a pass over both the Union Pacific and the Southern Pacific from Ogden to San Francisco, as I have for a good many years. I should very much prefer to get them in New York if possible, than to approach the local people here in the West. My duty as Bishop takes me over both roads; I have been able to make some traffic for the roads as I have built up congregations along the way. If you happen to know Mr. E.H. Harriman I should be very glad if you can help me in these two directions.²⁸

Once the state’s civil code was enacted, Bishop Leonard filed the Articles of Incorporation of the Episcopal Church in Utah on June 21, 1898. The seven-member corporation was headed by the bishop and was allowed to purchase and sell property in the name of the church. Trustees, of whom at least three must be laity, held three-year terms and were bonded for \$500 each.²⁹

Few notes about liturgical matters are found in his writings. Once he noted that recent Prayer Book revisions allowed for Morning Prayer, the Litany, and Holy Communion to be distinct and separate services, but that some parishes were neglecting one or another of the services, and not properly observing a rubric in the communion rite where “there are distinct directions as to when the Commandments may be omitted and how often the long exhortation of the communion office shall be read.”³⁰ On another occasion he wrote a perspective applicant for a St. Paul’s parish in Salt Lake City: “I do not myself object to a somewhat ornate service. We have nothing advanced in this whole jurisdiction.” He added that the cathedral had a mixed choir of men, women, and boys, communion at an early Sunday service, and on holy days and Friday mornings at 11 o’clock. “There are two eucharistic lights, wafer bread made here in the city, and a mixed chalice [containing wine and some water], although there is no ceremony attending to any of these things. St. Paul’s has substantially the same

²⁷ Abiel Leonard to John Love, Eureka, Utah, June 4, 1903, p. 9, Nevada and Utah Official Correspondence, June 1898 – November 1903, Accn 426 Bx 10 Bk 2.

²⁸ Abiel Leonard to G.W. Garth, New York City, New York, December 17, 1901, p.9, Accn 426 Bx 11.

²⁹ Articles of Incorporation of The Corporation of the Episcopal Church in Utah, No. 2248, filed by Abiel Leonard with David Dunbar, County Clerk, Salt Lake County, June 29, 1898, D.A.

³⁰ The Missionary District of Salt Lake, Journal of Convention (September 1901), p. 16, Accn 426 Bx 1 Fd 5.

things. The people there, however, do not care anything for the lights and I have thought myself that I would remove them before the next rector came.”³¹

Elsewhere, Leonard advised a publisher of church books to prepare a compact prayer book and hymnal for mission use, one light weight enough for a bishop to carry a hundred copies by stagecoach.³² Rubrics could be avoided, a single short canticle should suffice after each lesson, and “the service of baptism for infants is more important than the burial of the dead.” Episcopalians could never agree on a list of hymns, Leonard believed, and pinned in the book a list of hymns he believed were suitable for mission congregations that he then sent the publisher.

As the fourth superintendent of St. Mark’s Hospital, Bishop Leonard recognized the urgent need to enlarge St Marks. However, at its then location at 500 East and 300 South, there was little opportunity to expand the hospital. Bishop Leonard set out to find a suitable location for a new hospital. Land was purchased at Second West and Eighth North and the cornerstone for the new St. Mark’s Hospital was laid on July 31, 1892. Two years later to the month the new building was completed, where it stayed until 1978. The location’s advantage was its closeness to the Wasatch Hot Springs in an era when hydrotherapy was widely used. Mrs. Leonard lent ten thousand dollars for construction costs of the three-story Victorian structure. By 1893 the new St. Mark’s Hospital had treated 6,251 cases, including 2,900 of lead poisoning, 667 various injuries, 344 cases of inflammatory rheumatism, 152 of typhoid, 128 of syphilis, 63 of alcoholism, 58 of pneumonia, 52 tuberculosis, and 35 gunshot wounds.³³

The new St. Mark’s thirty to thirty-five bed hospital soon proved too small, and additional wings were added in 1896 and 1903, giving the hospital a 125-bed capacity, making it equal to its rival, Holy Cross Roman Catholic Hospital, located on First South and Tenth East. An isolation ward was added, as were a laboratory and a steam sterilizer, plus a microscope and an x-ray machine, both representing new technologies. Once the rope-operated elevator to the third floor operating room broke, dropping a patient to the basement, so for several years patients were carried to and from the operating room by stretcher, tilted awkwardly to a near-vertical position. In 1894 a two-year training school for nurses was launched. The original female nursing students were also a source of cheap domestic labor, doing much of the hospital’s janitorial work, while living in the hospital basement. By 1907 a new home housing thirty-five nurses was opened, which was named for Bishop Leonard.³⁴ That same year, St. Peter’s

³¹ Abiel Leonard to F.F. Johnson, Redlands, California, January 28, 1902, pp. 94-95, Accn 426 Bx 11 Bk 2.

³² Abiel Leonard to L.H. Morehouse, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, March 22, 1899, D.A.

³³ Susan Lyman, “A Look at Utah’s First Hospital,” *Deseret News*, n.d. 1978.

³⁴ W. Dee Halverson and David M. Walden, *St. Mark’s Hospital, 1872-1997, a 125-Year Legacy of Quality Health Care in Utah*, (Salt Lake City: Heritage Associates, n. d.), 38-40, 50-51.

church was erected at 657 North Second West to serve as a hospital chapel and neighborhood church, where it stayed as a small congregation until the 1950s.

St. Mark's School, which was established in 1867, closed in 1894 shortly before Utah achieved statehood and a public school



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system was instituted. However, Rowland Hall, which was opened in the early 1880s, and kept open by Leonard, offered one of the few possibilities in the region for young women to achieve an education. "A typewriting machine [has been moved into the Hall], and eight of the young ladies are learning the beautiful and accuracy-teaching art," a school publication stated in 1888. Elsewhere it said, "The angular hand seems to have come to stay, and is taught in all female schools of reputation. No lady of the present day can afford to write in the old-fashioned round hand." Science laboratories, a gymnasium, and a chapel were gradually added to the school. An 1883 graduate recalled there being one boarder and thirteen other students. By 1901 the school housed fifty boarders and nearly 150-day students; a gift of thirty thousand dollars from Pittsburgh industrialist Felix R. Brunot allowed additional classroom space to be built. Raising funds for the hospital and school were objects of Leonard's periodic eastern visits.³⁵

The Bishop Abiel Leonard Nurses Home housed nursing students trained at St. Mark's Hospital.

Several women were active in paid institutional ministry positions as teachers, nurses, city missionaries, and as missionaries to the Native Americans in Utah during Leonard's ministry. Among them Sarah J. Elliott, a deaconess, worked at Rowland Hall. In his 1899 report Leonard noted that her earlier missionary work in Moab included gathering, at her own expense, a Sunday school of eighty pupils. Fannie D. Lees of St. Paul's parish a graduate from the deaconess training school in Philadelphia, returned to Salt Lake City where she participated in a hospital training program before working at St. Mark's Hospital, where she assumed a leadership role. Her sister, Nellie Lees, worked for the church for a year, claiming the salary eventually destined for Fannie on her return. Lucy Nelson Carter had completed six months with a hospital in Virginia before resuming work with the Utes at White Rocks, where she stayed for many years. Grace D. Wetherbee of New York City had spent a summer working with

³⁵ Mary R. Clark, "Rowland Hall-St. Mark's School: Alternative Education for More than a Century," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 48 (Summer 1980): 281-85.

Carter and the Native Americans, and Ellen Lees had been busy as a city missionary in Salt Lake City, dividing her time between the Cathedral, St. Paul's Church, and St. Peter's Chapel.³⁶

Utah Episcopal Church women attempted to participate as delegates at the Missionary District Convocation. In 1889 three women delegates were elected to the convocation from St. John's in Logan, but were denied seating. Their presence was not openly addressed. A motion was made that the Report of the Committee on Credentials be referred back to that group with instructions that the names of the Logan delegates should be stricken from the roll on account of ineligibility.³⁷ Women did the work of the church, but it would take almost a century for them to be given formal status as convocation delegates, lay readers, chalicists, priests, and bishops.

Episcopal Church work among Utah's Native Americans began in Leonard's time. Despite Tuttle's labors as a builder of the church in the West, he never commenced work among Native Americans and they are rarely spoken of in his extensive writings. It was far easier for him to find clergy and money to build churches and schools in growing western frontier towns than to engage in a ministry among indigenous peoples. Following the Civil War, changes in the administration of the western Indian reservations were made. Various churches were invited to participate teaching Indian people about Christianity and establishing schools. The Uintah Indian Reservation was assigned to the Episcopal Church. Bishop Leonard encouraged church activity on the reservation. The assigning of the Uintah Indian Reservation was most likely on the prodding of Colonel J. F. Randlett, post commandant and acting Indian agent.

In September 1893 in his *Quarterly Message*, a local publication, Leonard noted that a government Indian school had been opened at Randlett and an active church member was employed there. Two planned government boarding schools would house seventy-five and forty children respectively. Concerning the urgent need for church ministry among the Indians in 1894, he wrote: "There are probably 5000 Indians in the Missionary Jurisdiction of Nevada and Utah. I have never sought an opportunity to do any missionary work among them for the very excellent reason that I have had neither the man nor the means to carry out the work....Will you not help us to elevate the Red man?"³⁸

Leonard asked, in a fund raising appeal, for three thousand dollars to build a chapel and mission house. A parcel of land was assigned to the Missionary District and in 1895 Leonard raised \$2,500 to build a church, the Church of the Holy Spirit, and a mission house. From 1896 to 1898

³⁶ The Missionary District of Salt Lake, Journal of Convention (September 1901), p. 24-26, Accn 426 Bx 1 Fd 5.

³⁷ A.J. Simmonds, "Strength Out of Zion, a History of St. John's Episcopal Church and the Anglican Presence in Cache Valley," p. 18, MS. 1985, St. John's Foundation, Logan, Utah.

³⁸ Abiel Leonard, "A Statement," 1894, Accn 426 Bx 11 Fd 1.

George S. Vest, the first Episcopal minister to the Utes, was stationed at Holy Spirit mission. Then in 1899 Leonard established St. Elizabeth's Mission at White Rocks where a church was built in 1905.³⁹

However, not all went smoothly on the reservation. Leonard would not publicly criticize the Bureau of Indian Affairs, although he knew some of its local employees were incompetent. When Lucy N. Carter, a



*St. John's Episcopal Church,
Logan.*

woman missionary to the Utes, wrote him from the reservation about a local dispute, he responded, he did not "think it is wise for our missionaries to interfere with government business....If you missionaries incur the ill-will of the government employees on the Reservation they can make life a burden for you and our work a drag."⁴⁰ On the same day, he wrote an Episcopal colleague noting that too often the government employees were unfit for work, but the disposition of missionaries is to criticize them. "My advice to our workers is, to keep to themselves as much as possible and in all things to keep their own counsel, and under no circumstances to antagonize any of them. In a difficulty between these employees to be entirely neutral. To make them feel we are trying to cooperate with them in doing all that the government requires."⁴¹

On December 3, 1903, Bishop Leonard died from typhoid fever after an illness of three weeks. Before the funeral, clergy in full vestments stood watch around the clock by the open casket in the cathedral, changing every three hours. A local newspaper wrote of the wake:

White plumes and dark sashes of Knights Templar, with Masonic aprons, white and purple or white and black surplices of the clergy, choir boys clad in white and black, nurses in their uniforms and caps, banks of wondrous flowers, candles on the altar, a sorrowing multitude that packed St. Mark's Cathedral, a huge purple casket with a palm laid upon it.... The whole front of the church was banked with flowers.... The bishop's chair, at the left of the altar, was covered with purple velvet, palms, and violets."⁴²

Bishop Daniel Tuttle was asked to participate in Bishop Leonard's funeral. However, arriving late by train from a long journey from St. Louis,

³⁹ F.S. Spalding, "Doing Things Out West," *The Spirit of Missions*, December 1912, p. 882.

⁴⁰ Abiel Leonard to Lucy N. Carter, White Rocks, March 25, 1899, D.A.

⁴¹ Abiel Leonard to Bishop Heere, Salt Lake City, March 25, 1899, D.A.

⁴² *Salt Lake Herald*, December 6, 1903.



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Rowland Hall School was operated by the Episcopal Church during Abiel Leonard's tenure as Bishop. Here children at Rowland Hall are braiding a May Pole.

3,500 persons baptized and over 1,800 confirmed. Both Rowland Hall was enlarged and St. Mark's Hospital was expanded to accommodate 125 patients during his tenure. More than twenty-five thousand dollars was expended on these new buildings. St. Marks Cathedral was enlarged and St. Paul's Church completed.⁴³ Working within the parameters of his time, Bishop Leonard greatly expanded the church's work among the Native American population. Having few resources at his disposal, he aligned himself with the federal government, hoping that better quality administrators and teachers would be sent to the reservations. He did not take a public stand in defense of Native Americans; that would have been inconsistent with his temperament and out of character with the Episcopal Church at the time. A local newspaper editorial called Leonard "kind and charitable to all" and "an efficient worker and a highly revered friend," adding, "we cannot recall any of his public utterances which would distinguish him as a profound thinker, great scholar, or fluent speaker."⁴⁴ Still, Leonard left a library of two thousand volumes to the Missionary District. It was a record of solid achievement.

Bishop Tuttle missed the funeral but did manage to reach Mt. Olivet Cemetery by streetcar where he read the committal service.⁴³ Both Masonic and Episcopal services were held at the grave site and the three Utah clergy pallbearers present were all master masons.⁴⁴

What is the balance sheet on Bishop Abiel Leonard's almost sixteen years in Utah? When the bishop arrived there were only four resident clergy in the state, and four

in Nevada. He started and maintained nineteen missions during his years in the West, and raised over three hundred thousand dollars (Bishop Tuttle during his ministry raised \$468,000). Leonard's record of baptisms and confirmations was equally impressive: over

⁴³ Beless, "The Episcopal Church in Utah," 86.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 82-86. The pallbearers included: Rev. Alfred Brown, Ogden; Rev. C.E. Perkins, St. Paul's Church, Salt Lake City; Rev. G.C. Hunting, Salt Lake City; Rev. G.C.W.G. Lyon, Grand Junction, Colorado; Rev. Z.W. Gunn, Montrose, Colorado; and Rev. Elliott Meredith, Elko, Nevada.

⁴⁵ *Salt Lake City Tribune*, December 5, 1903.

⁴⁶ *Salt Lake City Utah Inter-Mountain Catholic*, December 5, 1903.



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“It Is Time We Do Something Radical:” The Union Party in Utah

By MATTHEW BOWMAN

In September 1934, the left-wing monthly *Common Sense* stated wistfully, “Failure is a hard word. Yet we believe the record indicates that nothing but failure can be expected from the New Deal.” Indeed, in late 1934 and 1935, it appeared that the New Deal had bogged down. The broad sweep and unprecedented action of the Hundred Days had come and gone, the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) and the Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA) had been passed and implemented. Yet unemployment remained at 20 percent. The income of urban workers was still 13 percent below what it had been in 1929, while that of farmers had dropped 28 percent. The flaws of the hurriedly planned and executed NIRA and AAA were becoming apparent and drawing criticism from the Supreme Court as well as from politicians, and in 1935 and 1936, the Court ruled both unconstitutional. For many citizens, the hope that Franklin Roosevelt had offered in 1932 seemed to be unrealized. The national unity of the Hundred Days was

*Salt Lake City's Main Street
between 200 and 300 South in
1936.*

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fading and opposition to Roosevelt appeared from not only those who had opposed the New Deal in the first place, but from those who felt it had failed to do enough.¹

In this desperate atmosphere, leaders who proposed radical solutions for the Depression emerged on the national stage. They criticized the failures of the Roosevelt administration, and sometimes targeted villains to blame for the nation's economic woes. Of these, the three most prominent were Senator Huey Long of Louisiana, Father Charles Coughlin, the "radio priest" from Royal Oak, Michigan, and Dr. Francis Townsend, the old-age pension reformer from Long Beach, California. Long and Coughlin both vociferously denounced Franklin Roosevelt as an ineffective tool of corrupt big business. Coughlin summoned the forty million Americans who listened to his radio show to join his National Union for Social Justice, calling for the nationalization of industry, strict restrictions on business, and monetary reform. Meanwhile, the charismatic Long, claiming two million citizens in the radical income redistribution movement he called the Share Our Wealth Society, was preparing to challenge Roosevelt for the presidency in 1936 when he was assassinated in September of 1935.

Townsend did not denounce Roosevelt with the invective and oratory that Long and Coughlin employed, but like them, he appealed to many with his plans. He proposed a national business transaction tax of 2 percent, which would fund a pension of two-hundred dollars a month to every citizen over sixty years of age, provided they spent it within the month. This requirement would spike consumer demand and thus drive the creation of new jobs. In addition, the elderly were required to retire to receive the funds, opening still more jobs. Many reacted with disbelief to Townsend's proposal. J. H. Paul, director of the Utah State Old-Age Pensions Department, called it "the most extravagant and radical scheme that has ever been presented to civilized man," and presented calculations indicating that the plan would require, "7 and one half times the income of the federal government in the big year 1929" to administer.² Indeed, the per capita annual income in Utah in 1933 was \$237, barely more than what the Townsend Plan would allot each month. Despite this evidence, desperate citizens of all ages found hope in the doctor's confidence that not only could their own situations be bettered, but that the Depression could be beaten as well. Townsend announced his plan in September 1933. By the next January he claimed two million followers in five thousand Townsend Clubs across the nation. Ten times that many were estimated to have signed Townsend petitions.³

¹ *Common Sense*, September 1934, cited in David Kennedy, *Freedom From Fear: The American People in Depression and War, 1929-1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 227, 218-20, and Arthur Schlesinger, *The Politics of Upheaval* (Cambridge: Riverside Press, 1960), 2-5.

² J. H. Paul to Henry Blood, May 28, 1934, Blood Correspondence, Box 7, Folder 5, Utah State Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah.

³ Kennedy, *Freedom from Fear*, 222-25, Schlesinger, *Politics of Upheaval*, 30-41.

In the mid-1930s, these men numbered their followers in the millions and were believed to pose a viable political threat to Franklin Roosevelt. Indeed, though Long's death removed the most likely radical presidential candidate from the 1936 election, Coughlin was determined to place an opponent to Roosevelt in the field. He recruited William Lemke, populist U.S. representative from North Dakota, to run and persuaded both Townsend and Long's self-appointed heir, the preacher Gerald Smith, to endorse his new Union Party.

These charismatic men have been the focus of much study. Their rhetoric has been dissected, plans discredited, and motives questioned and denounced. However, for the most part, their followers remain a mystery. Theories regarding the nature of the radical appeal have often been suggested, but, absent information about the rank and file, have never been substantiated. This study will attempt to fill the gap by examining one such constituency: 572 men and women, supporters of the Utah branch of the Union Party who signed a petition to place Lemke on Utah's presidential ballot in 1936. The Utah Union Party will be placed in the political context of the state, and the issues and sentiments of Utah politics that provided it with a political base will be examined. Through an examination of the petition names, this study will attempt to determine what has not been verified before: exactly who these people were, and, in doing so, perhaps cast some light on why they may have joined the crusade.

In 1930 the census counted 507,847 residents in Utah. Nearly 40 percent lived in the three population centers of Salt Lake City, Ogden, and Provo. Salt Lake City itself claimed nearly a third of the state population, with 140,267 residents. Ogden, the second largest city in the state, had 40,272 people, and Provo accounted for 14,766 of the state's population. Agriculture was the occupation of most of Utah's citizens, employing nearly a third of the state's 170,000 workers between fifteen and sixty-five years of age. Salt Lake City and Ogden were the state's manufacturing centers; industry employed 13,522 of Salt Lake's 54,069 workers and 4,096 of Ogden's 14,298. It was then as now a young state. Seventy percent of its population was under thirty-five years of age, and only 4.5 percent, or 22,665 people, were above sixty-five years old. Only a quarter of that 22,665, less than 6,000 people, were above seventy-five years of age.⁴

If the Union Party flourished in areas hard hit by the Depression, then Utah provided fertile ground. At the time of Henry Blood's inauguration for his first term as governor in 1933, unemployment was at 36 percent, fourth highest in the nation, and per capita income had fallen from \$537 to \$237 in the four years since 1929. Utah's many farmers had been suffering

⁴ All census information relating to employment and age is from Bureau of the Census, *The Fifteenth Census of the United States, Population, II, Reports by States*, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1933), 1081-98, and Bureau of the Census, *The Fifteenth Census of the United States, Population, IV, Reports by States*, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1933), 1617-62.

since shortly after World War I, when a sudden drop in the price of grain destroyed much of their income, and a drought in 1934 only crippled them further. Between 1929 and 1933, total farm income dropped by more than half, as did that of the state's manufacturers. Mining income declined even more, by nearly 80 percent.⁵

Efforts to cope with the Depression dominated Utah politics during Roosevelt's first term. Due in part to extensive lobbying efforts by Governor Blood, the state received more than 158 million dollars from the federal government between 1933 and 1937, twelfth highest per capita in the nation. Utahns embraced the money, and with it, the president's call to action. Prominent Utahns George Dern and Marriner Eccles joined the president's administration. The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) was widely popular in the state; there were repeated requests by Utah's representatives in Washington for more money for the program, and the Salt Lake City Chamber of Commerce organized a statewide protest to contest a proposed elimination of two Utah CCC camps. However, as the Depression continued, signs of discontent emerged. When funds for the Federal Emergency Relief Act were cut in 1935, there were riots at the Salt Lake City office, and several demonstrators were arrested. Blood's proposal for a sales tax to fund social programs was met with resistance (it was, predictably, dubbed "Blood money"), but it passed the legislature with state senator Ward Holbrook's declaration that "[i]t is time we do something radical."⁶ Historian Wayne Hinton argues that in 1935 and 1936, after the first wave of New Deal activity, Utahns grew increasingly dissatisfied with federal programs that demanded local support and sacrifice, a trend that paralleled the troubles of administration and effectiveness that plagued the New Deal in 1935. Many Utahns felt that Roosevelt's efforts to combat the Depression were failing; the president seemed to be demanding more, but doing less.⁷

In contrast, at least one nongovernmental program seemed to be flourishing. The efforts of the Welfare Program of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints were remarkably successful. The program began in 1936, and soon was employing twenty-four hundred and was beginning efforts that would remove twenty-two thousand from government rolls. However, despite the great impact of New Deal programs on Utah's unemployment in 1935 and 1936, unemployment in the state remained between 6 and 10 percent in those years. In some counties in 1935, more than 40 percent of

⁵ *Utah Economic and Business Review: Measures of Economic Change in Utah 1847-1947* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1947), 23-29, Leonard J. Arrington, "Utah's Great Drought of 1934," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, vol. 54 (Summer 1986), 245-65.

⁶ Wayne Hinton, "Utah's New Deal Experience," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 54 (Summer 1986), 275-84. *Salt Lake Tribune*, August 22, 1935, R. Thomas Quinn, "Blood's First Year as Governor," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 54 (Summer 1986): 234.

⁷ Hinton, "New Deal Experience," 280-84.

families were receiving relief. Nearly every county was in double digits.⁸ For many, the problem seemed not to be that the Depression's effects were impossible to deal with, but that the current administration was unable to meet citizens' expectations.

The Union Party thrived upon these unemployment problems. The party's leaders fanned popular discontent with the Roosevelt administration

and the seeming inability of the government to solve the nagging economic problems of the Depression. In Utah, sentiment coalesced around the issue of old age pensions. The Townsend movement had significant strength in the state; Abraham Holtzman notes that forty-one Townsend Clubs were founded in Utah after 1934, and estimates that during the Depression years, the movement's heyday, each counted roughly three-hundred members.⁹ Aside from the Townsend movement there were at least two or three other old-age pension organizations in Utah during the desperate years of Roosevelt's first term.

Governor Blood began keeping a file entitled "Old Age Pensions" in 1934, and filled it with letters he received from all over the state. The pleas in most were heartbreakingly repetitive—always, a clearly explained inability to work due to infirmity or layoff; tales of poverty and old age; and finally, the question, paraphrased, but always similar: "What do I have to do to receive the pension?" Utah had established an old age pension system in 1929, but it was chronically underfunded, dependent on county property taxes, and eligibility requirements were strict. The applicant had to prove a complete lack of other sources of support, even from family, and was forbidden to draw any income while on the pension. This system was hopelessly inadequate to meet the shock of the Depression, and in 1933, J. H. Paul called the situation "intolerable." From 1929 to 1933, only 1,305 people in Salt Lake County were deemed eligible to apply. Only 610



UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL

William Lemke, presidential candidate for the Union Party in 1936, (right) is shown with Gerald L. K. Smith (left) and Francis Townsend (standing).

⁸ Jeremy Bonner, "The Response to the New Deal in Orem, Utah," *Journal of Mormon History*, (Fall 2002): 88. Utah State Planning Board, "Progress Report, April 1935."

⁹ Abraham Holtzman, *The Townsend Movement* (New York: Bookman, 1963), 48-50.

individuals were granted a pension, which, in 1933, averaged ten dollars a month. Despite rejecting more than half the applicants, the system was fast going bankrupt. From 1929 to 1933, the amount spent on pensions increased from \$5,111 to \$48,460, and Paul estimated this rate of increase would continue for the next ten years if economic conditions did not improve dramatically. In December 1934, Blood wearily wrote, "I am sorry to say that the condition of revenues has not been such that amounts sufficient to meet the demands have been available."¹⁰

Given the situation, it is not surprising that public discontent would develop. The 1935 appearance of the national Social Security Act sparked organization. Utah was offered two million dollars for Social Security spending if its pension laws were brought into alignment with national guidelines. The state legislature was not in its biennial session when Congress created the provision. Governor Blood, meanwhile, came under strong pressure from elderly citizens to call a special session of the state legislature. Among the most vocal was I. C. Thoreson, an eighty-five year old Norwegian immigrant, who composed long letters to the governor warning that Utah's elderly demanded immediate revision of the pension laws. To reinforce his point, Thoreson formed the Utah Pension Committee and informed Blood that he had a petition with signatures of twelve thousand voting citizens. Soon after, Paul Allred, a sixty-two year old son of Mormon pioneers, founded the Utah Old Age Pension Organization and repeated Thoreson's demands. Though Blood eventually agreed to call a special session, he remained opposed to the demand that the two million dollars Congress had allocated be spent entirely on old age pensions, pointing out that the act covered other struggling groups as well.¹¹

In June of 1936, as the governor's race was beginning, these organizations held a rally in Salt Lake City. One of Blood's assistants was present, and wrote that the meeting was "attended by about 300 persons, all almost without exception over sixty-five years of age." The keynote speaker was political science professor and progressive state senator Herbert Maw. He and his followers believed Blood to be too conservative, beholden to what Maw would later call "the big interests, the financial interests." Defying Blood, Maw had proposed to the legislature "an old age pension, for \$25 a month" He was stunned by the reaction his activism drew, later saying, "[B]oy, did I get a following. Every time I spoke, the galleries were crowded." Maw had chosen to challenge Blood for the Democratic nomination for governor. At the rally, Maw promised that if elected, "I will see to it that

¹⁰ Paul to Blood, April 7, 1933, Blood Correspondence, Box 1, Folder 33, Salt Lake County Commissioners to Blood, November, 1933, Blood Correspondence, Box 7, Folder 5, Paul to Blood, January 1934, Blood Correspondence, Box 7, Folder 5, Blood to J. M. Lear, December 8, 1934, Blood Correspondence, Box 7, Folder 5, Utah State Archives.

¹¹ J. C. Thoreson to Blood, May 15, 1936, Blood Correspondence, Box 31, Folder 13, Blood speech, undated, Blood Correspondence, Box 14, Folder 54, Utah State Archives. Wayne Hinton, "The New Deal Years in Utah." (masters thesis, Utah State University, 1967), 118-20.

we will get it [the pension law revision] put into operation.”¹²

Blood’s agents described the pension groups as Maw’s prime constituency and warned that they made the professor a formidable political force. A Blood supporter from Box Elder County warned that “rabid Townsendites” made up most of the attendance at Maw rallies. A Salt Lake County commissioner told Blood that Salt Lake City’s Townsend Club Number One commanded at least “one-thousand members” who would vote for Maw. Will Holmes, Blood’s campaign manager in Brigham City, warned of a faction of Democratic voters “willing to sacrifice you in order to have their way about social security.” The *Deseret News* confirmed Holmes’s suspicion, reporting that Maw’s votes at the Democratic convention came “with the support of the aged,” and primarily from the urban areas of Salt Lake and Weber counties.¹³

Maw gained a respectable number of votes at the convention, but not enough to unseat Blood, who still controlled the state party apparatus. Maw’s base of support, however, remained, and was apparently large enough to attract the interest of other gubernatorial hopefuls. Third party candidates R. E. Miller of the “Liberal Republican Party” and Mayor Harmon Peery of Ogden, who ran as an “Independent Progressive” made pensions a key part of their platforms. Miller, though he was removed from the ballot when it became clear he had forged many of the signatures on his nominating petition, explicitly described his platform as “the Townsend Old Age pensions.” In addition, Ray Dillman, the Republican candidate, announced his support for pensions in exchange for a formal endorsement from Paul Allred, who wrote Blood that there was “no other way to secure the needed reforms than to elect RAY E. DILLMAN GOVERNOR OF UTAH.”¹⁴ It is clear that the state’s politicians considered the pension lobby a powerful one; and as Dillman’s association with Allred demonstrated, that the line between radical and mainstream politics was not as clear as in a less



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Governor Henry H. Blood, Utah
Governor from 1933 to 1941.

¹² Herbert Maw interview by Paul Kato, 3 December 1976, transcript, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah. “Minutes of Old Age Pension Committee Meeting, June 10, 1936,” Blood Correspondence, Box 13, Folder 31, Utah State Archives.

¹³ Lewis Fields to Blood, June 19, 1936. Blood Correspondence, Box 13, Folder 39, C. H. Carlquist to Blood, September 21, 1936, Blood Correspondence, Box 13, Folder 44, Will Holmes to Blood, April 23, 1936, Blood Correspondence, Box 13, Folder 39, Utah State Archives. *Deseret News*, August 11, 1936.

¹⁴ Liberal Republican ticket documents, Utah Secretary of State Election Papers, 1851-1976, microfilm reel 52, Utah State Archives. Allred to Blood, October 9, 1936. Blood Correspondence, Box 14, Folder 50, Utah State Archives.

turbulent time. In September 1936, Paul Allred and his lieutenants John Rawson and John Hess signed the Union Party petition.

The insertion of pension politics into the political mainstream was almost total. J. H. Paul had begun to write frequent and lengthy letters denouncing the Townsend Plan, which were published in various newspapers. These published letters spawned several heated exchanges of opinions and views with Townsend supporters. Some of his letters were mailed to political figures as well. Particular targets for Paul's missives were the governor and Senator Elbert Thomas, to whom he observed that the state's "Republicans tend to endorse the Townsend Plan for the votes it promises." In the midst of the campaign, the *Deseret News* agreed with Paul's assessment. Further confirmation came from the Provo *Daily Herald*, which ran an ad listing eight members of Provo Townsend Club 1 who protested Dillman's courting of the old age lobby, and "outside interests using our fine organization as a doormat for the Republican Machine." Five of the eight signed the Union Party petition. Nearly every candidate bought ads in the local newspapers stating their support for old age pensions and denouncing their opponents for not doing the same. Even Blood ran an ad accusing Dillman of "promising pensions without restriction" without indicating "where the money came from," and of voting "against the Greenhagen Bill, providing for the counties to administer Old Age Pensions to the needy."¹⁵

The heated debate over old age pensions and Francis Townsend's support for the national Union Party were key for the development of the state's branch of the party. In addition to the five self-identified Townsendites of the *Daily Herald* ad who signed the petition, the ties of Utah's pension activists to the Union Party in the state were perhaps most evident in the *Deseret News's* description of a "delegation of officials of groups aligned with the Union Party," who greeted William Lemke at the train station when he visited Utah on October 19, 1936.¹⁶ In addition to those expected to appear—the officers of the state party organization—various leaders of Utah pension organizations were also present. W. E. Carpenter, the chair of the Utah Townsend Old Age Pension Society, and other unnamed "Townsend officials" were among them. The story also identified Union Party and Townsend Society officials interchangeably, as "aligned" with the Lemke candidacy. Wilbur DeWitt, named on the petition as secretary of the Utah Union Party, was identified in the *Deseret News* story as a "Townsend

¹⁵ Paul to Thomas, November 1, 1935, Elbert D. Thomas Papers, Box 21, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah. *Deseret News*, May 1, 1936, *Daily Herald*, November 2, 1936, *Salt Lake Tribune*, October 24, 1936. The Greenhagen bill, passed in March 1929, allowed counties to grant "not more than" \$25 a month pensions to citizens over sixty-five who met a series of qualifications. Applicants were required to be residents of the state for twenty-five years and the county for five and to have never been convicted of a crime. In addition, applicants were required to have been employed for a year prior to their application, thus limiting the funds to the very recently unemployed. *Salt Lake Tribune*, March 28, 1929.

¹⁶ *Deseret News*, October 19, 1936.

organizer.” There was no mention of representatives from Coughlin’s Union for Social Justice, or of any Share-Our-Wealth clubs lingering a year after Huey Long’s assassination.

Despite campaigning in Utah, William Lemke received only 1,121 of the state’s votes on Election Day 1936. He had been formally nominated two months earlier by a petition of 572 men and women, almost exactly half of the votes he eventually received. This petition opens the supporters of the Utah Union Party to analysis. Of the 572 names, it was necessary to remove 283 from analysis. The single most overwhelming reason for this was illegibility of the signature, due to either the handwriting of the signer, or, less frequently, to flaws in the microfilm. Several other names were ruled out because it was impossible to verify which of several citizens who bore the name had signed the petition—for example, the three “John Johnsons,” one “E. Erickson” and spouse “M. Erickson,” and the surprisingly common name of one Nephi Pratt. Of the remaining 289 men and women available for analysis, 110 were from Provo, 38 from Ogden, and 141 from Salt Lake City.¹⁷

Those who signed the petition were asked to put their addresses next to their names. Not all did, but all at least indicated their city of residence. Thus, it is possible to determine that the petition was heavily skewed toward Utah’s urban areas. Of the 572 supporters, 290 came from Salt Lake City, 57 were from Ogden, and 222 lived Provo. Two lived in the Salt Lake suburb of Bountiful, and one in the Ogden suburb of Riverdale. This breakdown reflects the earlier reports of Governor Blood’s assistant Will Holmes and the *Deseret News* that the supporters of Herbert Maw were primarily urban.

These signers were, for the most part, mature men and homeowners with jobs and stable lifestyles. Two hundred and fourteen of the signers were men; only seventy-five were women. Overwhelmingly, the signers were either married or widowed—the latter far more common among women (twelve) than men (only two). The method of petition gathering possibly influenced the gender distribution. In Salt Lake City, whose petition provided fifty-three of the seventy-five female names, the progression of addresses on the petition indicate door-to-door solicitation of names. In one remarkable stretch, the occupants at 815, 819, 821, 823, and 838 West 300 South all signed. At three of the five homes, both a husband and wife signed. Such methods resulted in frequent signings by spouses, and at times, children old enough to vote. Provo’s petition, on the other hand, seems to have been primarily circulated through workplaces; its signers tend to

¹⁷ The petition is available on reel 42, Utah Secretary of State Election Papers: 1851-1976, Utah State Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah. Biographical data for the subjects was obtained from a number of sources. Most important were the applicable city directories for Salt Lake, Ogden, and Provo, which provide data on occupation, marital status, and residency. Also useful were newspaper obituaries and the resources of the LDS Church Family History Library, which has access to social security indexes, census data, and birth and death records, as well as genealogical data from many researchers.

cluster by place of employment. For example, Bullock's Billiard Hall provided the names of two Bullock brothers and two counter clerks. As a result there are far fewer women's names on the petitions. Not surprisingly, only 11 of Provo's 110 names are female, and there are few groupings by family.

Many of the signers were both heads of households and homeowners, a sign of investment in community and dedication to economic security. Two hundred and eight signers are listed in the 1936 city directories as owning their place of residence, and only forty-nine indicated they were renters. (The remaining names did not appear in that year's directories). Only forty-three signers had never married. In both of these categories, the proportion of petition signers who were married (85.1 percent) or owned homes (72 percent) were far above that of Utah's population as a whole. The census in 1930 revealed that out of a marriageable population of 326,963 (fifteen years or older), 221,578 or 67.8 percent were married or widowed. In those areas designated "urban" by the census, those with a certain degree of population density and thus more representative of the overwhelmingly urban signers, the ratio was very similar (68.2 percent). According to the census, 69,583 of Utah's 115,936 homes, or 60 percent, were owned by their residents. The home ownership ratio in urban areas was even lower, with only 50,730 of the 92,926 urban homes owned by their residents, a ratio of 54.6 percent. Both comparisons point to a degree of stability in the signers' lives; they had put down roots deeper than most.¹⁸

However, a comparison of 1936 home ownership among petition signers to that in 1929, the year the Depression began, indicates the threat of losing a home during the Depression. In 1929 the directories described only 32 (15.5 percent) as renters and 181 (84.5 percent) as home owners compared to 49 renters and 208 home owners in 1936 indicating a 3.5 percent decrease in home ownership and an equivalent increase in renters between 1929 and 1936. This may reflect the fact that more signers appeared in the later directories. However, the individual differences between the two years are striking. Two men, who had rented in 1929, owned homes seven years later. Some of the new renters in 1936 were single men, generally miners and laborers, who had not appeared in the 1929 directories. Many, however, were men like Frank Stark and Wesley Jacques (both Lemke electors and elderly), and Joseph Swapp, Alden Madsen, and John Swenson, home owners in 1929, but renting living accommodations seven years later. The Depression robbed these men of a home and all the intangibles that accompany it: security, family, community, and economic comfort. Even more cruelly, widows like Bertha Christensen, Sara Campbell, and Nancy Featherly joined these men, living in apartments after their husbands died during the seven-year period between 1929 and 1936.

¹⁸ Census data for home ownership is found in the *Fifteenth Census of the United States: Population, VI* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1935), 1330, and for marriages in the *Fifteenth Census of the United States: Population, III no. 2: Families* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1932), 1093.

A forced move to an apartment would have been especially painful for the signers, because evidence indicates that they were settled members of the communities in which they lived. One hundred and seventy-nine of the signers appeared in either the 1920 or the three 1921 city directories, indicating that nearly two-thirds of them lived in their communities for fifteen years before the election. The number of signers are reasonably balanced: 104 of Salt Lake's 141 petition signers, 21 of Ogden's 38, and 54 of Provo's 110 had a household in those cities in 1920 and 1921. Provo's total is likely a bit low because the petition signers there were younger than in the other two cities, and many more of its signers were minors and thus not listed in the city directory in 1920.

The 1925 city directories reflect the long residency of the signers in their communities as the number of petition signers in Provo rises from fifty-four to seventy-two, giving more than two-thirds of Provo's signers residency in the city a decade before they signed the petition. Salt Lake City and Ogden's total petitioners rose as well, though less dramatically. Utah's capitol gained two signers, making a total of 106 of its 141 Union Party supporters in residence in 1925, while the number of signers in Ogden rose from twenty-one to twenty-six. Thus, a decade before the election, 204 of the 289, or 70 percent of the petition signers, lived in the cities where they signed the petition. They had bought homes, found jobs, and begun to raise families. They had put down roots and were trying to make a place for themselves in the economic and social communities in which they made their homes.

Evidence also exists that 170 of the 289 signers, almost 66 percent, were members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, the religion of more than 70 percent of Utah citizens in 1930. Only 35 of the remaining 118 were found to be members of other religions; thus, while the opposite is also true, the possibility that the number of Mormon signers is higher is a very real one. The church, then as now, formed a tightly-knit religious and social community. The prevalence of membership among the signers is another indication of their sense of belonging; they were members of the Utah community.

The picture of the signers that emerges is not a movement of the lower classes, or even of those most hard hit by the Depression. As the power of the pension issue in Utah politics demonstrates, the politics of radicals like Townsend became mainstream under the pressure of the Depression. The signers, thus, were not social marginals or people traditionally associated with radical politics. They led stable, though modest lifestyles, and were in many ways typical citizens. Over the years that they had lived and invested in their communities, they had worked to create comfortable lives for themselves, and now they faced financial disaster. While neither the threat of the Depression nor their community membership were unique to those who signed the petition, a series of other factors—age, occupation, and economic position—served to separate those who supported the Union Party from

others. These factors made the problem seem especially severe and their situation especially vulnerable, and thus increased the appeal of the Union Party's message.

The pension issue provided a spur to mobilization as the Union Party gathered a constituency in Utah. The inadequacy of the existing pension system, its strict qualifications and demands for eligibility, brought the issue home to many elderly who found themselves unable to cope under the pressures of the Depression. They were far past the average age of Utah's residents in what was still a young state. Though the signers of the petition ranged in age from the twenty-one-year-old Dane Priest of Ogden to Florence Llewelyn and Lars Jensen of Salt Lake City, both eighty-two years old, most were closer to the latter age than the former. The average age of the signers, whose birth dates are available, was 50.6 years, far above the state average in 1936. Table 1 provides more extensive detail of the signers' ages, and compares them to the population of their communities.

**Table 1 - Age of Union Party Petition Signers
Compared to City Population**

Age ¹⁹	Provo			Salt Lake City			Ogden		
	Signers Number/Percent	Population		Signers Number/Percent	Population		Signers Number/Percent	Population	
20-24	4 3.9%	16%		4 3.5%	16.5%		2 7.4%	15.4%	
25-34	17 16.5%	25.6%		11 9.6%	26%		1 3.7%	26.7%	
35-44	27 26.2%	20.7%		23 20.0%	22%		1 3.7%	23.1%	
45-54	33 32%	17.6%		17 14.8%	16.8%		3 11.1%	16.6%	
55-64	12 11.7%	11%		22 19.1%	10.2%		13 48.1%	10.1%	
65-74	10 9.7%	6.1%		26 22.6%	6.2%		7 25.9%	6%	
>75	- -	3%		12 10.4%	2.3%		- -	2.1%	
Totals	103			115			27		
No Information Available	7			26			11		

The petition signers were elderly. Those younger than thirty-five composed just over 40 percent of the population in each city, but made up just over 10 percent of the Union Party signers in Ogden and Salt Lake City

¹⁹ The age breakdown in this chart imitates that of the 1930 census. The city population totals do not include those under 20; thus the population ratios describe the proportion of population in that city over that age.

and only 20.8 percent in Provo. In Salt Lake and Ogden, Union Party signers remain underrepresented until the age bracket between fifty-five to sixty-four is reached. Then, significant overrepresentation begins. In the age bracket between sixty-five to seventy-four for Salt Lake City the Union Party proportion was nearly four times higher than the general population: 22.6 percent to 6.2 percent. In Ogden, the difference is 20 percent. Only 6 percent of Ogden's population fit into that bracket, but 26 percent of the Union Party petition signers did. Provo, on the other hand, while not a significantly younger city, produced a somewhat younger group of petitioners. Though they follow the trend toward underrepresentation in the youngest categories and overrepresentation in the oldest, the differences are far less dramatic than in Salt Lake City and Ogden; perhaps, as with the gender ratios, this is because the Provo signers tended to be employed men, approached with the petition while on the job. Still, Provo's signers are concentrated between thirty-five and fifty-five years, more mature than the population in general, but younger than their fellow signers in Salt Lake City and Ogden. In total, 42 percent of the petition signers across all of the cities were above fifty-five years of age in 1936, compared to only 18.7 percent of the general population.

An examination of the officers or leaders of the Union Party's petition drive demonstrates that those who organized and led the party were even older than those who signed its petitions. Of the seven leaders named on the petition, four electors and three members of the party committee, five were older than sixty and one party chairman, Joseph Edmunds, was more than seventy years old. Only Wilbur and Ellen DeWitt, the party secretary and an elector, respectively, were younger than sixty years of age. In addition, the three leaders of the Utah Old Age Pension Organization, Paul Allred, his vice-president, John Hess, and secretary John Rawson, each of whom signed the petition, were over sixty years of age as was Calvin Richards, who hosted Lemke in Salt Lake City. The average age of these leaders is sixty-one years, older than the general population and the petition signers. If the younger DeWitts are not included in the group, the average age jumps to sixty-six years.

These results reflect the relationship between the pension issue in Utah politics and the Union Party. The presence in the petition of names associated with pensions strengthens these findings: Paul Allred, John Rawson, and John Hess all signed the petition, as did W. E. Carpenter, state Townsend Society president. Wilbur DeWitt, Union Party secretary, was a Townsend organizer, and five Townsends identified in a local newspaper also appeared on the petition. The age data, when taken with this evidence, indicates that pensions were likely the dominant issue in the Utah Union Party and of key importance for its leaders and a significant number of the citizens who signed the petitions. It is likely that in less troubled times the most fundamental economic issue for the pension signers was employment, a powerful factor in their lives. Table 2 examines the occupations of the signers, and contrasts them with the cities in which they lived.

**Table 2 - 1936 Occupations of Petition Signers
Contrasted with City Totals²⁰**

Occupational Level	Salt Lake City			Ogden		
	Signers Number	Percent	Population	Signers Number	Percent	Population
High Nonmanual	3	3.9%	10.8%	1	5%	9.5%
Middle Nonmanual	6	7.9%	7%	2	10%	2.4%
Low Nonmanual	15	19.7%	33.3%	2	10%	27.1%
Skilled	10	13.2%	18.1%	2	10%	17.6%
Semi-Skilled/Service	17	22.4%	22.6%	6	30%	28.9%
Unskilled	25	32.9%	8.2%	7	35%	14.5%
Subtotal	76			20		
No Information Available	65			18		
Total	141			38		

It is clear that the unskilled category is highly over represented in the ranks of the petition signers; indeed, in Salt Lake City, it constituted a third of the group, far beyond the group's respective proportion in the general population. Though Ogden's petition population is perhaps too small to judge for specific nuances, its slant is clearly in the same direction. Despite these totals, the table also demonstrates that the Union Party did not draw exclusively from any particular group. In the categories other than "unskilled," the size of the Union Party's constituency roughly reflects the proportions within the city population as a whole. The closest correspondence in both cities is in the "semi-skilled and service" category with just over a fifth of both the petition signers and the population of Salt Lake City and better than a fourth of both in Ogden. In Salt Lake City, whose signing population is large enough to make a more reasonable comparison than Ogden, the only major difference is in the low nonmanual category. It

²⁰ The Census Bureau did not gather information for Provo which is not included in the table. Proportions are calculated from the number of signers who had occupations listed in the city directories. Those in the category "No Information Available" had no occupation listed in the city directory because they either did not provide one or were not working at the time of compilation. The number includes, importantly, both the retired and the unemployed, though it is uncertain how many of each are represented.

The sorting of occupations: High nonmanual—the professions, including physicians, lawyers and teachers, or a large property owners or government officials; Middle non-manual—small businessmen or managers, small farmers; Low nonmanual—clerks or cashiers of various kinds, salesmen, typists or secretaries; Skilled—those with a trade: bakers, carpenters, electricians, jewelers, tailors, etc.; Semiskilled and service—all service workers, including domestics drivers, machine operators, repairmen, mine operators, and low level public servants like police or firemen; Unskilled—gardeners, porters, generic laborers.

The classification was developed by Robert Alan Goldberg in his *Hooded Empire: The Ku Klux Klan in Colorado*, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981).

appears that though the message of the Union Party may have appealed particularly to unskilled workers; however, it was by no means limited to that group. Indeed, in Provo, which is not included in the table due to a lack of census data, the signers appear to be relatively more affluent. The signers in Provo's "high nonmanual" category included not only an engineer and two business owners, but people of high stature in the community. For example, Jesse Washburn was principal of the LDS seminary; Marcellus Pope a former district attorney, and James Aird a doctor for whose family a hospital was named. In addition, such leaders as Joseph Edmunds and Paul Allred were financially secure, though Edmunds had retired by the onset of the Depression.

These findings suggest the difficulty in characterizing the signers as economically similar, and thus uniformly victimized by the Depression. The working poor, those who would have had the most difficulty making ends meet during the Depression and whose economic plight was the most real and pressing, made up more than half the signers. It is also true that many of the better off citizens—managers, small businessmen, even some professionals—signed the petition. However, though the economic conditions of these segments were often dissimilar, all felt the economic pressure brought by the lethal combination of age and downward mobility.

The occupational data offered by the 1929 city directories provide information about the signers in the last year before the onset of the Depression. Initially, similarities seem to outweigh the differences; stability seems to characterize their lives. There are no radical transformations or mass shifts between occupational levels. Close examination, however, reveals subtle downward mobility between 1929 and 1936. The number of signers in every category except unskilled and high nonmanual declined as the Depression advanced, as did the total number of signers reporting an occupation. The only category which increases significantly is unskilled. It increased from thirty-five to forty-three workers, gaining five in Salt Lake City and four in Provo, while losing one in Ogden.

Focusing more systematically upon trends in mobility can bring out the subtleties of this decline: the slight increases in the unskilled category, accompanied by similarly small declines in the higher levels.



UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

**Governor Herbert B. Maw, State
Senator during the 1930s and
Utah Governor from 1941 to 1949.**

**Table 3 - Occupational Mobility Among Petition Signers:
1929-1936**

Mobility	Provo	Ogden	Salt Lake City	Totals
Upward	3	0	5	8
Downward	10	4	13	27
Stable	54	9	61	124

Though the numbers are not large, the trends are clear. By three to one, those whose economic position worsened outnumbered those whose position improved. While this would be expected in a depression, the table confirms that the signers were among those who suffered, not over a lifetime, but from immediate circumstances and with immediate results. They had for the most part been secure—indeed, most with jobs in 1929 and 1936 remained on the same level. However, it was fragile stability; they faced the *threat* of economic decline, and believed that action was necessary to counter it. They saw themselves as a precariously balanced people with much to lose.

The downward mobility of many of the signers confirmed the danger. In 1929, David Rishton had been a salesman at John Edwards Auto; Randolph Reusser a custodian at a high school; Carl Hansen a machine operator at a manufacturer; Andrew Burt a security guard. However, by 1936 they were all described as “laborers” in the city directories. Both Matthew Mast of Salt Lake City and signer Jennie Owen’s husband Earl were listed as “contractors” or independent small business people in 1929. However, by 1936, Mast had become a plasterer working in a construction firm, and Owen was a dairy worker. Both had lost their economic independence; they had become employees drawing wages. The economic insecurities of the Depression made their continued self-employment impossible. For others, however, self-employment became a necessity, although likely an unwanted one. Ralph Wiscombe of Provo had been a foreman at a radio factory in 1929. In 1936 he was the proprietor of a shop called “Ralph’s Radio Repair.” Ralph Hayward also of Provo managed an O. P. Skaggs store in 1929. In 1936, he ran “R. H. [Ralph Hayward?] Grocery” and lived above the store. Robert Bartlett of Salt Lake City had worked as an electrician for Wasatch Electric in 1929; seven years later, the city directory notes he was still an electrician, but his office was in his home. While this is all the information the directories supply, it is not hard to guess that Ralph’s Radio Repair and R.H. Grocery were likely born of economic desperation; that the radio manufacturer had closed, and Wasatch Electric and O. P. Skaggs had cut back on their staff; and Bartlett, Wiscombe, and Hayward found



themselves with no other alternatives. Workers do not leave employment to start small businesses in the middle of a depression unless there is no other choice, and the economic turmoil of the Depression likely left these men with none.

Unemployed Utahns march at the Utah State Capitol in 1931.

Comparing the situations of these men to those who were upwardly mobile demonstrates how much more extensive and devastating their experiences were. Jacob Jensen, a miner, and Obediah Barnes, a janitor, became salesmen. Miner Carl Hodell became a machine operator. This was the extent of upward mobility among the petition signers in Salt Lake City. In comparison with the litany above, it seems weak indeed. In Provo, the advances were similarly small: a salesman became a supervisor; Ralph Elliott, a laborer at a feed store, became the business's bookkeeper. Neither is as significant as the worsening employment conditions of David Rishton or Matthew Mast; they do not represent a turnaround in the decline. They could not reverse the gradual sense of loss of economic independence and security the signers felt. It was present in the loss of the homes of renters like Frank Stark and Wesley Jacques, in Matthew Mast's and Earl Owen's loss of independence, and the sudden instability in the lives of Robert Bartlett, Ralph Hayward, and Ralph Wiscombe. Despite the successes of the New Deal, the retreat from the abyss of 1933, the signers had no reason to place confidence in the existing system to take the next steps.

This economic decline, painful enough for anyone, was especially devastating to the elderly population that became the Union Party's constituency. In 1936, Carl Hansen was sixty-six years old, David Rishton was sixty-two, and Randolph Reusser was seventy-one years of age. Andrew Burt was seventy-six years old, and Matthew Mast and Earl Owen

were both sixty-four. Of the twenty-eight victims of downward mobility, the ages of nineteen are known, and in 1936 none was younger than forty years of age. The average age of these men and women, a group losing the economic leverage they had once had, was 57.5 years old. This is a key to understanding the motivations of those who joined the Union Party. Unlike Bartlett, who was thirty-eight years old in 1936, or Hayward, who turned forty a month after the election, these men and women lacked the opportunity to start over. Forty percent of the petition signers were above fifty-five years of age, another quarter were less than a decade younger, and the majority were blue-collar or marginal white-collar workers, groups that lacked the financial resources to resist the Depression.

In his last, angry letter to Governor Blood before the 1936 election, Paul Allred declared that the "Administration, although it has been importuned again and again to remove the grievances about which we complain, will do nothing. . . ." ²¹ Allred was not only convinced that the government could act, but also that it should and that it had a duty to relieve financial pain. Old age made the Depression especially painful; the dozens of letters Governor Blood received from the elderly apologizing for their inability to work and pleading for the pension were testimonies to that fact. Though many had jobs and stable situations in 1929, seven years later it was clear that their hold on that stability was tenuous, because the working poor lifestyles of so many of the signers made them particularly vulnerable to the Depression, and thus particularly responsive to the unique message of the Union Party. The radicalism of the Union message, its blending of Long and Coughlin's populist rhetoric against those who corrupted the system with the security promised by Townsend's pensions seemed to be tailored specifically to their needs. Though the party fell apart after a disastrous showing in the 1936 election, its brief surge highlighted the desperation bred by the Depression, and helped set the agenda of recovery on all levels of government.

²¹ Allred to Blood, October 9, 1936, Blood Correspondence, Box 14, Folder 50, Utah State Archives.

BOOK REVIEWS

Utah Historians and the Reconstruction of Western History By Gary Topping

(Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003. xii + 388 pp. \$35.00.)

IN A PROVOCATIVE, highly stimulating book, Gary Topping, professor of history at Salt Lake Community College examines the activities and scholarship of five important writers with Utah roots, namely, Bernard DeVoto, Dale Morgan, Juanita Brooks, Wallace Stegner, and Fawn McKay Brodie. The five whose impact was felt beginning in the 1940s influenced and significantly affected the course of Utah/Mormon history and Western American history over the following thirty years.

Topping's study, however, begins with a critical examination of the development of Utah historiography from its Mormon beginnings to about 1940. This tradition which Topping characterizes as "bleak" was handicapped by a number of negative aspects: (1) "Mormon triumphalism;" (2) a belief that "all historical interpretation is false and that historiography should simply be the establishment of factual accuracy;" (3) "a laziness of research;" (4) "lack of commitment to factual accuracy;" and (5) "a lack of feeling for the larger dramatic and interpretive implications of Utah history beyond Mormon triumphalism" (42).

Topping argues that such negative attributes spawned "creative tension" which, in turn, provided "the combustible material that ignited and propelled" the careers of all five writers (4). The first, Ogden-born, non-Mormon Bernard DeVoto was "like an Old Testament prophet" attempting to "Explain America," and in the process producing an important body of historical scholarship; beginning with *Mark Twain's America* (1932) and culminating in his three volume trilogy on western exploration and expansion, *The Year of Decision 1846* (1943); *Across the Wide Missouri* (1947); and *The Course of Empire* (1953). Topping sagaciously notes that DeVoto wrote with "prose that sings" presenting "characters that are among the most vividly portrayed in all historical literature" (80, 100). On the negative side, DeVoto's "immense literary power and his hyperventilating enthusiasm often dragged DeVoto over the line between vividness and distortion" with historical figures often appearing as mere caricatures (101). DeVoto's Joseph Smith is a case in point in that Mormonism's founder is labeled a "paranoiac personality" and "wild-eyed visionary who had written a crazy book and invented a bizarre theology" (88-89).

Dale Morgan, born Latter-day Saint turned agnostic non-believer, is characterized as "perhaps [Utah's] best and one of its most prolific historians [and] master biographer" (113). Morgan's *Utah: A Guide to the State* (1941), along with his *The Humboldt: Highroad of the West* (1943) and *The Great Salt Lake* (1947) demonstrated the author's "skill as a popular writer, who could synthesize a great deal of scholarly research, yet present it in appealing and accessible prose" (124). Topping praises Morgan's *Jedediah Smith and the Opening of the West* (1953) as both a "masterpiece [and] classic of western history" (139). Equally important, Morgan was "a mentor"

who willingly and unselfishly shared documents and provided advice to his fellow historians, especially Fawn Brodie and Juanita Brooks, both of whom he knew well. But Topping is critical of Morgan's scholarship carefully noting the shortcomings that marred his work. Morgan's Jedediah Smith biography, for instance, failed "to plumb the depths of Smith's personality" with the "inner Jedediah Smith" remaining in the words of Topping "a deep pool into which Morgan was unwilling to stick much more than a toe" (141).

Topping also views the scholarship of devout Mormon, southern Utah-based, Juanita Brooks in both a positive and negative light. He praises her *Mountain Meadows Massacre* (1950) as "clearly developed and well documented" providing "the definitive interpretation of the darkest moment of Mormon history" (198) until the 2002 publication of Will Bagley's *The Blood of the Prophets*. Her *John D. Lee: Zealot-Pioneer Builder-Scapegoat* (1961) was an even "more impressive achievement" with "its sweeping scale, and its meticulous examination of one of Mormon history's most infamous yet compelling figures" (200). Yet Topping is highly critical of Brooks's scholarship, characterizing her *John D. Lee* "a curious book" wherein this and in her other works Brooks introduces "invented dialogue" and imputes "emotions to her characters that are not sustained by her sources"—all of this further marred by "erratic...scholarly documentation" (201).

In evaluating Wallace Stegner, Topping characterizes the non-Mormon writer who spent his formative years in Utah as first and foremost a novelist but gives him due credit for his several important non-fiction historical works in the fields of Utah, Mormon, and Western history. In his *Mormon Country* (1942) and *The Gathering of Zion: The Story of the Mormon Trail* (1964) Stegner deals with Mormons in a fair, balanced manner carefully avoiding effusive flattery. *Beyond the Hundredth Meridian: John Wesley Powell and the Second Opening of the West* (1954) "is an acknowledged classic that dominated its subject until Donald Worster's massive and definitive study appeared in 2001" (5). Stegner's *The Uneasy Chair: A Biography of Bernard DeVoto* (1974) is praised by Topping as presenting a "much more three-dimensional" portrait than his earlier John Wesley Powell biography (260). But Topping faults Stegner for giving his readers "only enough of DeVoto's interior life for us to understand his public career as writer, historian, and conservation activist" (260).

A failure to adequately examine the interior life of biographical subjects under consideration was certainly not a fault of Ogden-born, excommunicated Mormon Fawn McKay Brodie, whom Topping dubs "the exorcist." Brodie launched her writing career with *No Man Knows My History* (1945) a work which represented "an exorcism of the First Liar of her life: Joseph Smith and the Mormon Church in which she had been reared" (320). The narrative of this work "could scarcely conceal the fury of a woman scorned" with the author seeing herself "a victim of Smith's deception" (292). Over time the biography, itself, achieved "the status of a dark classic" (337). The work's "weakest point" was the author's failure to adequately explore the issue of Smith's motives (294). Topping, however,

asserts that “a better biography of Joseph Smith has not yet appeared” (330). Similarly, Topping is generally positive in his evaluation of Brodie’s subsequent two biographies, *Thaddeus Stevens: Scourge of the South* (1959) and *The Devil Drives: A Life of Sir Richard Burton* (1967). But he is extremely critical of Brodie’s last two biographies, *Thomas Jefferson: An Intimate History* (1974) and *Richard Nixon: The Shaping of His Character* (1981) viewing them as fundamentally flawed, mostly because, in the words of Topping “there is so little of the subjects in the books and so much of Brodie” (311).

Although Topping carefully notes the contributions of all five writers in furthering the scholarship of Utah/Mormon history and Western history, he is generally critical, “spare with praise and generous with criticism” to use his own words (10). Conceding that all five “did a fine job [with] the more mechanical aspects of history: the discovery and critical evaluation of sources to establish an accurate factual record,” Topping concludes the five “generally did an unsatisfactory job of interpreting their material” (8). Such interpretive shortcomings, Topping attributes to the reaction of all five to “the heavy-handed pro-Mormon interpretations prominent in most Utah histories of their day and to their lack of academic training in history” (8). Indeed, none of the five had earned even so much as an undergraduate degree in history!

This limited review cannot begin to do justice to the multifaceted, richly-textured nature of Topping’s critique, replete with numerous, acute, observations. Although this reviewer takes issue with certain of Topping’s observations and factual assertions, particularly relative to Fawn McKay Brodie, more serious is the author’s all-too-brief treatment of Leonard J. Arrington, whose *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900* Topping concedes was “the greatest single leap in Mormon historiography” (333). While asserting that “the Arrington approach became known as the New Mormon history” Topping devotes a mere three pages to the acknowledged “Dean of Mormon Historians” widely regarded as both a prolific writer and an “inspiration to other young historians” (335). In summary, Topping has produced a important, yet provocative study—a seminal work that will certainly stimulate further discussion and debate among serious students of Utah/Mormon history and American Western history in general.

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Fort Limhi: The Mormon Adventure in Oregon Territory 1855-1858

By David L. Bigler. Vol. 6 of *Kingdom of the West: The Mormons and the American Frontier*

(Spokane, Washington: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 2003. 372 pp. \$39.50.)

AFTER DISCUSSING the notion of a "Mormon theocracy," David Bigler writes a compelling story about the rise and fall of the Mormon settlement at Fort Limhi from 1855 to 1858. Using vivid details, Bigler recounts the hardships of this expedition in fording rivers, crossing barren regions, and charting unmarked trails while meandering 379 miles from Salt Lake City. In addition, he describes the challenges of growing crops and hauling supplementary food, clothing, and other necessities from Utah to sustain this colony.

The distance from Utah created a challenge for the Mormon leaders to keep in touch with Fort Limhi. In the spring of 1857, Brigham Young took 142 people, 168 horses and mules, 54 wagons, and 2 boats to ferry the rivers to reach this remote colony. After arriving, he not only praised the missionaries for converting some Natives, but he also urged men to marry into the tribes and to form bonds with them. After thirty-three days, Young returned to Salt Lake City on May 26, just two months before he heard that President James Buchanan had sent a new governor with 2,500 troops to "suppress the Mormon rebellion."

While the Mormons and heavy snow trapped the Utah Expedition near Fort Bridger during the winter of 1857, the missionaries at Fort Limhi faced the fundamental problems of dealing with the Nez Perce, Bannock, Shoshone, Blackfeet, and Flathead Indians as well as the mountain men and the traders who were searching for horses and cattle to sell to the army. By using a variety of sources, Bigler argues persuasively that Benjamin Ficklin and John W. Powell worked behind the scenes, which provoked the Indians to steal livestock and kill a few Mormons. Furthermore, the missionaries failed to maintain peace with the Native Americans. Some of them became angry with the Mormons for fishing the salmon and shipping them to Utah. Others became troubled with the whites settling their homeland without some compensation. Still others expected the Mormons to side with them in their intertribal feuds with their enemies. After some Indians killed a few Mormons and stole considerable livestock, the Mormons abandoned Fort Limhi on March 27, 1858.

Although other authors have written on this topic, Bigler relies upon some previously untapped original sources in piecing together the story of Fort Limhi. To give his book the ring of authenticity, he includes many extremely long quotes from journals, diaries, letters, government documents, and newspapers. For example, he uses the unedited original holograph of the "Salmon River Mission Journal," which contains some vital details that were removed when a clerk transcribed the original document. The unedited version shows the Mormons sold fire arms and ammunition to the Natives and smoked the "peace pipe" with them. Also, after hearing about the army coming to Utah, Brigham Young talked of

cutting ties with the federal government. Bigler sees these deletions as evidence of some conspiracy to hide the truth. Even if some clerk left out these details, there are hundreds of other documents in the historical department that establish all of these same points.

The most serious weakness in Bigler's book is his interpretation that Brigham Young viewed Fort Limhi as an escape route into the northwest during his confrontation with President Buchanan. Reading the mind of any person is tricky business. Bigler's case rests on circumstantial evidence rather than substantial use of primary sources. Instead, there are many documents that show Young planned to follow a "scorched earth policy" along with hiding in the mountains if the United States army forced its way into the Salt Lake Valley. In this regard, Clifford L. Stott's research makes this point clear in his book, *Search for Sanctuary: Brigham Young and the White Mountain Expedition*.

Even with these weaknesses, Bigler has made an important contribution unfolding the story of the Salmon River Mission. Scholars, history buffs, and students of Mormon history will find this book worth reading.

LAWRENCE COATES
Brigham Young University Idaho

Sports in Zion: Mormon Recreation, 1890-1940 By Richard Ian Kimball

(Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2003. x + 256 pp. \$29.95.)

SPORTS IN ZION IS AN IN-DEPTH STUDY of the use of recreation and sports in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints as an instrument to communicate to Mormon youth proper behavior in morals, attitudes, and expectations. Much attention has been given by scholars to Mormon religious history, but the central role sports played in shaping the modern LDS religion has heretofore escaped close examination. In this study, developed from Kimball's doctoral dissertation, wide-ranging sources are used to document this hitherto little explored area of social history. This detailed work looks at the broad functions of recreation within the twentieth century Mormon faith and in a unique analysis opens this new field to research and understanding.

Beginning in the Progressive Era, church leaders turned to outside experts and professionals for ideas and techniques to implement recreational programs to strengthen the Mormon community and ameliorate the problems of urban life. Kimball discusses the development of a recreational philosophy designed to counteract the idleness, delinquency, and commercialized recreation available in public dance halls, road houses, and pool halls and to counteract the ease of city life that was thought to destroy the physical and spiritual vitality of Mormon youth.

In establishing a recreational offensive, the Mutual Improvement Association took the lead in applying ideas developed from outside, secular sources and used

them to create an ironic hedge within the church against secular influences. Recreation was to be the vehicle to solve institutional and personal problems among Mormons, to provide missionaries a unique but effective way to meet prospective converts, and to help preserve a unique way of Mormon life and values. Members of other faiths who participated had to accept the standards of the LDS church. Recreation also helped wayward Saints find their way back to the fold because "to be a Mormon athlete, one had to act Mormon."

As a recreational philosophy emerged, work and play were placed in tandem. Concerns about recreation took second only to theology among church leaders as recreation became institutionalized. Kimball explores how leaders encouraged recreation programs by implementing a building boom for recreational space by constructing amusement halls and gymnasiums adjoining worship areas. As a symbol of recreation's new importance, in 1910 Deseret Gymnasium was built as a temple of health. Here recreation took on religious significance and a near holiness as young men were taught to be strong and women how to enhance their beauty and health.

Recreational activities dominated the social life of Mormon adolescents. Wards and stakes provided gathering places where proper conduct was taught and the youth developed talents in a variety of events which helped socialize them into Mormonism. Recreational activities were to provide them with physical, mental, and moral vigor, to help increase attendance at meetings, and to teach adherence to church principles.

The Mormon church had also begun to transform the Word of Wisdom from a principle to a commandment. A rhetorical connection developed between athletic excellence and the Word of Wisdom. Abstaining athletes helped smooth transition of the Word of Wisdom from principle to commandment as athletic heroes sold it as a health law that would bring success in all aspects of life.

Since a rising generation of urban citizens did not face hardships of outdoor life or learn its lessons of independence, self-reliance and hard work, in 1913 the LDS church affiliated with Boy Scouts of America hoping to give boys pioneer experiences and a respect for nature and the past. Historical societies were organized and historical sites were purchased to help create an institutional memory. Fathers and sons excursions were begun to bridge the generational gap, to teach frontier skills, and to help reconnect to the past. Girls and women also needed a program to save them from city ways. Spacious summer retreat homes were built to provide a place of rest, recreation, and inspiration in nature.

To fill leisure time among members due to high unemployment rates during the Great Depression, the church sponsored a greater variety of athletic events, with basketball leading the way. These activities were to promote democracy, patriotism, and to teach self-control and self-development. When prohibition was repealed in 1933, leaders re-emphasized the advantages of abstention for athletic success. The end of the depression did not end LDS recreational programs. Wholesome entertainment continued to socialize Mormon youth, even though

the emphasis on recreation diminished. With global growth of the worldwide church and the movement of Mormons to suburbia where middle-class values reigned supreme reducing the threat of the inner city's sinful attractions, leaders replaced all-church athletic, music, and dance events with regional tournaments and festivals and carried out recreation at the local level. Athletic programs still held interest, obedience to the Word of Wisdom remained linked to excellence, the Boy Scout program continued, and the church still celebrated the success of Mormon athletes. However, many recreational programs became casualties of commercialized recreation and sports activities now readily available.

Richard Kimball effectively demonstrates in this well written work how Mormon leaders in the post-polygamy era maintained a unique way of life while accommodating to the American mainstream. Recreation helped them construct boundaries that led to acceptance by the outside world while maintaining unique aspects of Mormon specialness. Kimball's factual, insightful book offers important understandings into Mormon instruments of social persuasion. For many it will also evoke fond memories of participation in LDS recreational programs.

WAYNE K. HINTON
Southern Utah University

Leave the Dishes in the Sink: Adventures of an Activist in Conservative Utah

By Alison Comish Thorne (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2002. xv + 278 pp.

Paper, \$24.95.)

THIS BOOK IS A FIRST-PERSON ACCOUNT of events in the public and private life of Alison Comish Thorne, an activist for social justice who has made a difference—for her family, for Logan and Cache Valley, for Utah State University, and for Utah. Through her long life (she was born in 1914), she has acted on principles garnered through early observation of intellectual role models, through study of consumption economics in graduate school, through independent research at home while bringing up five children, and through thoughtful reflection upon her own experience. A self-described “ethnic Mormon” reared and educated outside Utah, she was, for half of her five-decade career as a social and community activist in Utah, a devoted Latter-day Saint. Her principles clashed irremediably with church policy in 1977, as will be explained below.

Perhaps the deepest influence in Thorne's life as an activist has been the spirit of Progressivism, a philosophy at the heart of the American land-grant college system founded to help level the social and economic playing field for rural and working-class Americans by making higher education available to them while improving rural and working-class lives through agricultural and technological research and outreach. Thorne's own father rose from obscurity on a southern

Utah Mormon farm to become a professor of economics at a land-grant institution, Oregon State University. Thorne earned her doctorate at another land-grant institution, Iowa State University, where she met her future husband—a fellow Ph. D. student from a small farming community in northern Utah—at an LDS student social. The couple eventually settled at a third land-grant institution, Utah State University, in 1951, he as a faculty member, she as a faculty wife.

Progressivism also gave rise to the American women's club movement, which flourished in the early twentieth century but later waned due to economic and social changes that resulted in critical losses of club members to employment outside the home. Thorne's participation in women's groups played a major role in her public achievements, which include the development of programs for women at Utah State University, service on the Logan school board, work toward the improvement of labor conditions in Utah, the correction of certain injustices on the Logan City and Cache County councils, and the creation of educational and economic opportunities for disadvantaged people in Logan.

Inside the home, Thorne applied principles of consumption economics that she had learned in graduate school, augmented by philosophical and creativity research, toward the attainment of personal and familial happiness. She realized early that the outcomes of "imperfect housekeeping," if the time thus saved were suitably deployed, could be directed toward both happiness and social justice (hence the title of the present memoir, and of an earlier, unpublished manuscript, "Let the Dishes Wait: A Philosophy for Homemakers," that she completed in 1949). In Logan, almost from the time the family moved there in 1951, Thorne was a popular speaker, using "Leave the Dishes in the Sink" as a rubric for her evolving thoughts about creativity, philosophy, social change, and other matters relating to the home and to the world.

Thorne was present at the infamous June 1977 "Salt Palace Meetings" on the Equal Rights Amendment, and what she witnessed there of LDS machinations ended her view of herself as a liaison between LDS and non-LDS women. In 1989 she was permitted to leave the church. At Utah State, after many years of serving on the outside—until 1964 she and all other university spouses were barred from employment, and when she finally did get an opportunity to teach a course in 1965, it was for no pay—Thorne was honored by being granted emeritus status and full professorship (1984), by giving two major public addresses at the university's invitation (1985, 1988), and by being granted an honorary doctorate (2000).

The only thing this reviewer regrets about Alison Thorne's fine memoir is that it does not append a standard curriculum vitae for help in sorting out the sometimes complex layers of narrative in the body of the memoir.

POLLY STEWART
Salisbury University
Salisbury, Maryland

Believing in Place: A Spiritual Geography of the Great Basin By Richard V.

Francaviglia (Reno and Las Vegas: University of Nevada Press, 2003. xxii + 289 pp.

Paper, \$24.95.)

RICHARD FRANCAVIGLIA'S *BELIEVING IN PLACE* proposes to illustrate how the author came to his own understanding of the power of landscape and place, in this case the Great Basin. He distills his own personal experiences over some forty years as a resident or visitor to this vast, arid land, demonstrating how the landscape of the region is in fact a nuanced religious text, providing a palimpsest from which different groups have created their own spiritual myths and ties to the land. Francaviglia provides a narrative illustrating how Native Americans, Mormons, miners, gamblers, the American military and even nuclear scientists have viewed the land and created their own explanations of cause and effect, importance and permanence. In the process he reveals an empathy for the residents of this land, from Native American elders to rural ranchers and even casino habitués. Francaviglia's prose demonstrates how the landscape of the Great Basin is seen by its inhabitants and its visitors as a place against which we measure "all myths and all history." The resultant "spirit of place" encompasses "churches and casinos, military bombing ranges and New Age sculptures" and has "more in common with human spirituality than we normally comprehend."

The twelve chapters that comprise the body of the book begin with the role of landscape in "storytelling" as he examines how different individuals construct their own meaning for the landscape features that comprise the Great Basin. Quoting a folklorist who concludes that the search for meaning is problematical because man understands everything only in terms of himself, Francaviglia examines the beliefs the white settlers brought to the region to create their own explanation and meaning of the landscape. Drawing from the Judeo-Christian cultural heritage he states that "the isolation of the desert poses a spiritual challenge, and in turn offers spiritual sustenance." Successive chapters elaborate on this theme, contrasting the Native American view, explanation and meaning of the landscape with that of the various other groups who have interacted with the region's land and features.

The author explores a host of landscape features common to the Great Basin, from caves to mountains, and concludes that "to those with an eye trained to read the landscape, vistas here bear the shape of two major forces—mountain building and running water." The heritage, goals and experience of each group that has utilized the land of the region explains the widely divergent views of both forces that shaped the region. Water can be seen as a source of life (birth, rain for desert dwellers, irrigation, etc.) or a destructive power to cleanse and reshape the earth and an individual's spirituality. Mountains are symbolic of the cataclysmic forces that created the land forms, but also seen as places of refuge, safety and spiritual power. Individual chapters are loosely organized around explanations of how phenomena such as hoodoos, the wind, the Mormon settlement of the West, and

even nuclear testing have become a part of the spiritual experience of the landscape of the Great Basin.

The book is entertaining and thought provoking. Criticisms are minor, reflecting primarily the magnitude of the task the author set himself in trying to explain and rationalize varied world views to create a coherent understanding of how and why the Great Basin's landscape is perceived as it is. Consequently some statements such as one that a Comanche elder's remark that sacred places "become sacred only after some transforming experience has occurred there" is "one of the most profound statements I have ever heard about sacred places" may cause the reader to wonder how he has forgotten Mircea Eliade's landmark work on how places gain sanctity, *The Sacred and the Profane*. Likewise, his evident respect for Native American spirituality contrasts with comments about Mormon sacred symbols which he disingenuously claims were shared with him by Mormon friends in a small Utah town "who apparently forgot he wasn't a Mormon." Readers may also disagree with some of his simplifications of Mormon history (as his statement that the Mountain Meadows Massacre was "retaliation for anti-Mormon comments made by some Missourians in the party as they traversed the area"), but in spite of these caveats the book will be intellectually stimulating for both residents and non-residents of the Great Basin.

RICHARD H. JACKSON
Brigham Young University

The History of Emigration Canyon Gateway to Salt Lake Valley By Jeffrey

Carlstrom and Cynthia Furse (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2003. xiii + 297 pp.

Cloth, \$34.95; paper \$19.95.)

THE SOUTHERN END OF MORGAN COUNTY was host to many of the early travelers who ventured west in the nineteenth century. I have explored the area with great interest and have read and studied many publications about the terrain and the history associated with it. However, once I reached the top of Big Mountain my quest for knowledge of the area seemed to fade until I entered the Salt Lake Valley. Thus Emigration Canyon remained an enigma to me until I read this excellent book.

Out of a love and appreciation for Emigration Canyon, Stan Fishler organized the Emigration Canyon Historical Society to help preserve the canyon's history. His quest to compile a history of the canyon led him to organize a team of volunteers to delve into its history and the people involved with it. The canyon held emotional and physical links for Jeff Carlstrom, a technical writer by profession, and Cindy Furse, an electrical engineer who volunteered to author the proposed book. Gary Topping, then associated with the Utah State Historical Society and resident of the canyon, joined the team as a consultant.

The History of Emigration Canyon Gateway to Salt Lake Valley is the product of countless researchers and contributors, and eight years of intent research, writing and rewriting.

Beginning with the natural history of the canyon and continuing to present day issues of development, the authors create an appreciation for the canyon by covering the many facets of the canyon's history.

The authors are especially effective in condensing the history of the Native Americans, trappers, map makers, the Donner-Reed Party, pioneers, the 49'ers, handcart groups, freighters, Johnston's Army, the Pony Express, the Overland Stage, and the telegraph into a concise but informative and interesting segment of the book. This book gives the reader a sense of place and purpose for each of these historic episodes.

Part of the history of the canyon involves its natural resources including the timber, sandstone, and limestone that helped shape the physical character of Salt Lake City. Quarried stone was transported by the Salt Lake and Fort Douglas Railroad organized by John W. Young. This short-lived railway and the Emigration Canon Railway Company, which provided passenger service, helped shape the economic and recreational aspects of the canyon.

Another little known aspect of the canyon's history is its use as a sheep drive-way. Sheep ranching was a large agricultural activity in Utah. Each fall herds of sheep from the east side of the Wasatch Mountains traversed Emigration Canyon en route to their winter range. The trip was completed in the opposite direction in the spring. The natural environment of the canyon suffered from the effect of overgrazing by these traveling herds. By 1950 trailing sheep through the canyon ended as sheep were transported by trucks.

Utahns have also used the canyon for recreational purposes. By the 1930s temporary tents gave way to hundreds of permanent cabins. In time, the flat areas of the canyon evolved into small subdivisions and eventually modern homes for full-time residents.

The authors give a history of the commercial enterprises that were located in the canyon and their often colorful owner/operators including those that provided lodging, recreation, and entertainment in the picturesque canyon. From the brewery to restaurants each has a fascinating history.

The inspiring story of the establishment of Camp Kostopulos for the handicapped is one of the highlights of the book. Camp Kostopulos, established mostly through donated material and volunteers, is a place where handicapped children can "see the sun shine and the stars twinkle" in the beautiful canyon setting.

As the authors so aptly put it, "Emigration Canyon and her ever-evolving history is a tenacious tale of a place that has always seemed to be a wilderness, even as she gave shelter and home to her families, built the foundations of Salt Lake City, and opened her arms as the gateway to Zion" (236). This is a well written and documented history of Emigration Canyon. It is worth the reader's time to discover the canyon through the pages of this excellent book. Thanks to those

associated with this book my trips through Emigration Canyon will never be the same. I will take the time to reflect on its past while I enjoy the beauty and splendor it still possesses.

LINDA H. SMITH
Morgan County Historical Society

One Vast Winter Count: The Native American West before Lewis and Clark

By Colin G. Calloway (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003. xvii + 631 pp. \$39.95.)

THIS IS THE FIRST BOOK of a new six-volume series of the History of the American West. Colin Calloway, the Samson Occum Professor of Native American Studies at Dartmouth and a seasoned scholar of Native American history, has produced what may represent his magnum opus: a comprehensive history of the Native American West before 1800 that “reflects new scholarship without overlooking past perspectives” (xi). This synthesis of the history of Indian peoples and places reaches back thousands of years before European written records and provides an overview of Indian homelands and communities extending from the Appalachian Mountains to the Pacific. It chronicles how native societies adapted and responded to outside pressures and forces from the Paleo-Indian period until America’s encroachment.

In the first third of the work, Calloway gives insight into the Indian West before 1500 by incorporating native voices and perspectives. Instead of relying solely upon the Bering Strait theory to explain the peopling of the continent, he infuses Indian origin stories to tell the tale of Indian pioneers, hunters, migrants, and farmers who inhabited Indian country. These hunters, farmers, and fishermen maintained intimate connections to the natural world by fostering relationships through the observance of traditions and the performance of rituals. The domestication of beans, squash and, especially, corn, increased the diversification and complexity of the Indian West.

European encroachment into Indian country between 1500 and 1730 dramatically challenged and changed the world the Indians knew. This second section chronicles the effects of the Spanish invasion that extended from California to Florida. Colonization and missionization placed harsh demands on Indian communities and cultures. Those pressures exacerbated the devastating effects that disease epidemics and Spanish enslavement were having upon Indian communities. Franco-Indian fur-trading relationships along the Saint Lawrence/Great Lakes/Mississippi River corridor were often based on the principle of reciprocity and usually culminated in the formation of alliances or intensified rivalries and enmities. Indian nations continually struggled to preserve their world from the

chaos and conflict caused by European colonialism, fighting to preserve traditional ways while weighing the advantages of adopting European goods and tools that made life easier. They also faced the decision of whether to maintain their religious traditions or to accept elements of Christianity.

The final section details the dramatic cultural changes and power struggles of the eighteenth century caused by the spread of guns and horses. Tremendous upheaval resulted from these incessant imperial wars along the Mississippi and Ohio valleys. These conflicts involved most of the European powers in the New World and a vast number of Indian nations stretching from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico.

Calloway has successfully infused new scholarship with past interpretations, combining archeological, environmental, ethnographic, and historical research with indigenous knowledge gleaned from rock art, winter counts, oral stories and traditions to cover a tremendous amount of time and space into a single volume, thoroughly documented with 134 pages of endnotes. He briefly touches upon Utah's Indian heritage by focusing on the environmental challenges of living in the Great Basin and the Colorado Plateau regions and providing occasional glimpses into historical episodes of the Shoshones, Utes, and Navajos.

This work would have benefited by including more details on the epidemics that depopulated the continent and made European encroachment significantly easier and more rapid. In addition, the Russian influence in Alaska and the Pacific Northwest is barely touched upon. Nevertheless, this tour de force of Native American history before 1800 represents one of the most comprehensive overviews of an Indian history of the western two-thirds of the United States before America's westward expansion.

JAY H. BUCKLEY
Brigham Young University

After the Boom in Tombstone and Jerome, Arizona: Decline in Western Resource

Towns By Eric L. Clements (Reno and Las Vegas: University of Nevada Press, 2003.

xv + 389 pp. Cloth, \$29.95.)

"HUNDREDS OF BOOKS have been written about mining boomtowns and regions, but mining bust, which claims all of them sooner or later, has received very little notice," Eric Clements says in the introduction to his book.(1)

"It turns out there is an excellent reason for this practice," he continues. "Bust is difficult to research. One is frustrated time and again by sources that go as dry as an Arizona arroyo during a town's declining years"(2).

In the following pages, Clements tries to make amends for this imbalance, gleaning information from the admittedly sparse record to piece together the story of the decline of two Arizona mining towns, Tombstone and Jerome. However, this

book is not community history or even mining history, he points out, but rather an attempt to use the history of these two towns to examine the phenomenon of bust.

Of course, talking about bust without boom is a bit like ordering a sandwich without the bread. Clements devotes the first fifty pages of the book to setting the stage, describing the conditions that put these towns on the map in the last quarter of the nineteenth-century. What follows is a recitation of the factors that led to the demise of these two towns and a painstaking examination of the demise itself.

As the editor of the *Mining History Journal* and the author of articles on mining, mine labor and ghost towns in the American West, Clements has the perspective to recognize what Tombstone and Jerome share with other western mining boomtowns. Look closely, he seems to be saying to historians of other communities, and you can see yourself.

Indeed, students of the Utah mining story will recognize many factors that have been blamed for the demise of Alta, Bingham, Park City, and other area mining boomtowns: the impact of baffling swings in national metal prices; the periodic devastation caused by fire; the constant problem of underground water; the incursion of open-pit mining; and the three-way battles involving mine management, local unions and more militant national movements such as the Wobblies.

What Clements adds to these familiar themes is a careful documentation of the decline and a study of the creative coping mechanisms that the remaining citizens of Tombstone and Jerome used to keep their communities alive—barely—until they were discovered by tourism in the last half of the twentieth century. Local governments, schools and churches consolidated services and tightened their belts. Buildings were dismantled for firewood or moved to other towns. Families resorted to scavenging, hunting and gathering (not always legally) and subsistence agriculture.

As Clements points out, the communities also were left to deal with the “environmental residua” of their mining past. He devotes several pages to a discussion of subsidence—a problem all too familiar to residents of the coal-mining town of Rock Springs, Wyoming. When the ground subsided in Jerome, residents reinforced crumbling foundations and, in some cases, demolished buildings and filed claims against the mining companies for compensation. However, Clements makes no mention of contaminated soils and groundwater, environmental residua that continue to haunt other western communities built near metal mines. Did Tombstone and Jerome escape unscathed, or have these problems yet to surface?

By consciously choosing and carefully researching a subject that has received little attention from historians, Clements has made an important contribution to the literature. Whether this book becomes popular among casual readers of western history is another question. After all, there’s another reason that authors tend to write more about boom than they do about bust: The trip up the mountain usually makes a more compelling story than the trip down.

DAVID HAMPSHIRE
Park City Historical Society and Museum

Arizona's War Town: Flagstaff, Navajo Ordnance Depot, and World War II

By John S. Westerlund (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2003. xxi + 304 pp. \$39.95.)

IN THIS FINE LOCAL HISTORY, John S. Westerlund examines the impact of the Second World War upon the city of Flagstaff, Arizona, and finds that wartime change was "breathtaking, reaching the very heart and soul of the community" (229). The primary driving force behind that change was the U.S. Army's decision to build the thirty million dollar Navajo Ordnance Depot just outside the town. The Depot itself, forty-four square miles of steel-reinforced concrete storage bunkers, as well as the necessary network of roads, railway spurs, warehouses, and loading docks, served as the primary munitions depository for the war against Japan. The story of Navajo Ordnance Depot is certainly worth telling, but the author is more interested in assessing the impact of the great facility upon the population of Flagstaff. The picture that emerges of Flagstaff's wartime experience resembles nothing so much as the classic western boomtown scenario; however this time, the motherlode was not gold, but rather federal defense spending. For local citizens, the flood of federal dollars ended the Great Depression and transformed Flagstaff from a sleepy backwater into a military boomtown almost overnight.

Westerlund calculates that the Navajo Ordnance Depot "brought about \$42 million (almost a half-billion in today's dollars) in construction and salaries during the war and much of it remained in town" (216). In addition, the U.S. Navy's V-12 officer training program and the Civil Aeronautics Administration flight training program virtually rescued Arizona State Teacher's College (now Northern Arizona University) from imminent fiscal collapse due to shrinking wartime enrollments. The real strength of the book lies in the author's assessment of the social costs of this bonanza of federal spending.

The promise of good-paying jobs attracted thousands of new workers to Flagstaff. As a result of the labor requirements of the ordnance facility, white migrant labor, Native American workers, and African-American draftees were thrown together for the first time. The contentious and sometimes volatile interaction of laborers and locals added to the overheated boomtown atmosphere and sometimes resulted in violence. Some local landlords evicted renters and charged exorbitant rates to workers desperately searching for housing. Other local entrepreneurs were ready to provide alcohol, prostitutes, and even firearms to some of the new workers. Crime and juvenile delinquency doubled. There was also a collision between capital and labor when local merchants organized a citywide strike to protest the arrival of union organizers to unionize local restaurant workers.

The author's discussion of Anglo-Navajo relations on the base and in Flagstaff is another strongpoint of the book. The Navajo Ordnance Depot was aptly named; for without the help of thousands of Navajo construction workers, munitions handlers, truck drivers, and clerks the base simply could not have opened its gates.

The facility also did much to bring the Navajo, male and female alike, into the mainstream American war effort. In July 1943, one thousand Navajo were employed at the depot. In other words, the Navajo Ordnance Depot labor force was “the largest single concentration of Native Americans at one location dedicated to the prosecution of the war” (224). Navajo workers rubbed elbows with African-American soldiers and even with 250 Austrian-German POWs—largely veterans of the *Afrika Korps*—drafted to fill out the hard-pressed labor force.

Westerlund has mined government documents, oral history interviews, local records, and newspaper articles to produce a model social history of a community enduring sudden overwhelming change under wartime conditions. I would be remiss if I did not mention that Westerlund also has an eye for colorful characters and the telling anecdote. This book is a strong contribution to the history of civil-military relations, labor relations and the story of the Second World War as experienced in the American West.

LARRY L. PING
Southern Utah University

An Accidental Soldier: Memoirs of a Mestizo in Vietnam By Manny Garcia

(Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003. vi + 278 pp. \$24.95.)

MANNY GARCIA IS A MESTIZO AMERICAN. He is also a Salt Lake attorney, a combat veteran of the middle period of America’s war in Vietnam (1966-1968), and the author of a strongly opinionated memoir called *An Accidental Soldier: Memoirs of a Mestizo in Vietnam*. His recollection of the Vietnam War is reminiscent of Stephen Crane’s *The Red Badge of Courage* and Michael Herr’s *Dispatches*.

Accidental Soldier reflects a completeness that all combat narratives would do well to possess. Without glorifying war it tells the story of a boy who progressed toward manhood in Western American settings that included parents, school, church, friends, homes, and jobs, then enlisted in the army, went through military training and war, and returned to civilian life, school, acquaintances, a job, and grim memories. Garcia’s book uses personal experience from childhood to middle age to explore and illuminate the nexus between peace and war, death and survival, killing and ultimate reconciliation.

Ethnic identity and Garcia’s Mestizo heritage descendent from early Spanish conquistadors and Aztecs, is an important theme in *Accidental Soldier*. Garcia, born in Del Norte in southern Colorado, leaves no doubt of the significance of the historic confluence of the Aztec and Spaniard to his life and those of his relatives in the American West when he writes: “Mexico is where mestizo seeds were planted five hundred years ago. The seeds grew roots. Some roots sank deep while others spread along the surface. I descended from one that had spread all the way to the San Luis Valley in south Colorado” (266).

Like the heritage that explorers such as Juan de Onate spread northward through the Rio Grande Valley in the sixteenth century, Garcia's family and other relatives spread their culture, moving northward into Utah where Manny grew up milking cows, playing church-league basketball, volleyball and softball, and achieving the rank of Eagle Scout. Then, barely eighteen years old, he joined the army in Salt Lake City "because I was working as a janitor and I figured I would be drafted soon and wind up in the army anyway" (25).

At this juncture, *Accidental Soldier* blends Garcia's perspective on racial identity with a universal theme of the transfiguring impact of war on young men. Forever conscious of his roots, Garcia notes that even in Vietnam, the Mestizo is discernable in American units: "One of the Chicanos in the platoon had written LA RAZA on his helmet cover. The blood of Conquistadors and Aztecs was flowing in the jungle" (94). But, as memoir of combat and violent death, Garcia's book ventures into a dark psychological realm of how all young, essentially innocent men lose their idealism and their youth to war. Here, *Accidental Soldier* becomes vividly reflective of Toby Herzog's thematic framework in *Vietnam War Stories: Innocence Lost* wherein Herzog concludes that in Vietnam, "soldiers quickly realized how far removed from normal patterns of life were the realities of the battlefield" (14).

Much of Garcia's *Accidental Soldier* succinctly documents this traumatic realization of how really brutal war is for the young warrior. The book presents passage after passage to illustrate the cruelty Garcia faced in Vietnam. Perhaps the most shocking but revealing of the book's thematic frame is that in which Garcia slays a North Vietnamese soldier with his knife. Shortly before this act, Garcia pondered what the war had done to him: "I acquired and freely exercised the ability to suspend all judgment and just act upon my environment. I found I was able to kill without conscience, without hesitation, without question.... A steady diet of war was not exactly nutritious food for the soul. War was not conducive to growth and flowering of the mind and spirit, nor was it a road to enlightenment. War was pure waste, devastation, and death" (143).

Mingled with the themes of his Mestizo heritage and lost innocence is *Accidental Soldier's* clear message that, while the narrator survived, he faced the necessity of returning home to reflect upon who he had become and what he must do to readjust to civilian life. In a powerful epilogue that evokes admiration, respect and sympathy for Vietnam War veterans, Garcia writes of arriving in Utah to deal with the "dark side" of the person the war had made him: "I had survived a year of guerrilla war but I hadn't yet grappled with the problems of simply being an unarmed man, day in and day out. I have spent the years since just working out being a man. It's been a painful process" (278).

Accidental Soldier is a solid book that will endure. On the level of the Vietnam War memoir, it compares favorably with other personal narratives such as Tim O'Brien's *If I Die in a Combat Zone* (1973), Philip Caputo's *A Rumor of War* (1977), and Robert Mason's *Chickenhawk* (1983). In the words of Vietnam War

bibliographer David A. Willson, to this reviewer, Garcia's book is "one of the few good ones. It is written unlike any of the others. [Garcia] has a special way of putting things which is free from clichés and free from the usual cant." Finally, as perhaps the most unique and creative feature of *Accidental Soldier*, Garcia weaves convincingly into his commentary the importance of the Mestizo heritage in the settlement of the Spanish Borderlands that came to include Utah and Colorado in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. For this, Manny Garcia is to be recognized as an articulate Western voice declaring "El Dia de la Raza." Appropriately, the Utah Center for the Book announced on April 17, 2004, its 2003 nonfiction book award to *Accidental Soldier*.

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The Anguish of Snails: Native American Folklore in the West By Barre Toelken

(Logan: Utah State University, 2003. xii + 204 pp. Cloth, \$39.95; paper \$22.95.)

BEGINNING WITH THE TITLE and ending with the last period, this book is an intriguing and well-written discourse of one man's experience and thought about Native Americans. Toelken brings close to fifty years of personal interaction and almost as many academic years of intellectual study to this volume that summarizes his findings. He wisely allows many Indian voices to speak for themselves in elucidating their perspective on such topics as folklore, art, dance, song, humor, and discovery. Sprinkled throughout are his experiences, many of which were with the Utah Navajos, and his thoughts which sometimes run contrary to those held in academia. He is a spokesman for himself, but does not claim to be one for other cultures.

One might ask why a book like this, identified on the back cover as Native American studies and folklore, should even be reviewed in the *Utah Historical Quarterly*. It seems far too contemporary and non-historical in its orientation to join the ranks of what is usually reviewed here. The book's title, once explained, gives the answer. The marks and dents in a snail's shell give a history of its life, containing the soft part within but a very visible record without. Toelken writes, "We won't pretend to pry into the secret lives of snails, but we will try to account for the patterns in their shells: In our case the patterns include the traditional Native dances, foods, stories, arts, and medicine that are the purposeful records, the time-tested articulations of shared emotions and values of living, ongoing cultures" (8). Historical knowledge and practice found in today's Indian communities become the tools by which the reader gains a glimpse into contemporary thought.

Still, why is this a concern for those interested in the past? Until fairly recently, the Native American perspective has been void in much historical writing. Indian

motivation, when addressed at all, was based on Anglo logic. What this book provides is a glimpse into another way of viewing the world that should sensitize all cultural outsiders to variance in thought.

One short illustration of differences in logic may help. The author tells of a government project during the 1950s to rid the land of prairie dogs in the Chilchinbito, Arizona region. The Navajos complained that to do so would harm the productivity of the land because, “there will be no one to cry for rain” (176). The government exterminated the animals anyway and within a short time the land was devoid of vegetation, exactly opposite of the intended effect. Since the removal of all burrowing creatures in this test area, the soil had become compacted, allowing water to run off the land in sheets instead of soaking into the ground. What had been thought to be sound scientific reasoning was found to be lacking in practical application when compared to Indian religious and philosophical beliefs. I have found similar cases in my own research.

Toelken provides other examples that teach of underlying cultural assumptions at odds with what is generally accepted in the dominant culture. His insight into Indian humor is particularly entertaining, since this facet of culture may take on a very distinctive interpretation. Why is it so difficult to translate a knee-slapping joke from one ethnic group only to have it go “dead” in another? The simplest answer is each has its own expectation, but the author gives a sharp analysis before showing why in his conclusion.

This book is recommended for anyone interested in understanding one man’s experience and thoughts concerning another culture. He is neither an apologist nor an advocate, but rather an intellectual who brings much personal experience and an academic background to his analysis. For those interested in writing about Native Americans from either a historical or contemporary perspective, it is a must.

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BOOK NOTICES

An Homage to Helen Papanikolas—Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora Volume 29: 2

(New York: Pella Publishing Company, Inc., 2003. 138 pp., \$12.00.)

This special issue of the *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora* is a well-deserved tribute to Helen Papanikolas. A Utah State Historical Society Fellow and well-known historian and writer about the immigrant experience in Utah and the West, Helen is recognized nationally and internationally as an authority and articulate spokesperson for the countless and almost forgotten immigrants who left their native lands to establish new homes in Utah and the surrounding states. Sixteen ethnic scholars and writers, including Utah State Historical Society Director Philip F. Notarianni, offer essays about Helen Papanikolas, her generosity, and her writing. Many of the essays discuss her pioneering work “The Greeks of Carbon County,” published in 1954 in the *Utah Historical Quarterly*, *Toil and Rage in a New Land* first published as the Spring 1970 issue of the *Utah Historical Quarterly*, and her masterful work as editor of *The Peoples of Utah* published by the Utah State Historical Society in 1976. Also included is a dialogue with Helen, an annotated bibliography of nearly forty items that describe her writings from 1947 to 2002, and treasured photographs of Helen and her family.

Arizona Goes to War: The Home Front and the Front Lines During World War II

Edited by Brad Melton and Dean Smith (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2003. xxi + 233 pp. Cloth, \$39.95; paper, \$24.95.)

Arizona Goes to War is a collection of essays written by prominent Arizonan historians, journalists, and free-lance writers. The authors include many useful sidebars, profiles, and illustrations that help tell the story of how “modern Arizona was born in war” (x). The authors include chapters on the effects of the buildup of war and Pearl Harbor on Arizonans, and the wartime experience of women, Native Americans, and those on the home front. Other chapters discuss Arizona’s proliferation of military bases, prisoners of war incarcerated in the state, war heroes, and the conclusion of the war. The book, intended for a general audience, concludes with a traveler’s guide to Arizona’s World War II sites.

Kit Carson and His Three Wives: A Family History By Marc Simmons

(Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003. x + 195 pp. \$24.95.)

Kit Carson and His Three Wives is an account not only of Carson’s marriages to Arapaho Waa-Nibe, Cheyene Making Out Road, and New Mexico

native Josefa Jaramillo, but also of Carson's experiences as a mountain man, expedition guide, Indian agent, and commander of a regiment during the Civil War. Simmons draws on the work of previous historians and four decades of his own research regarding Carson in order to reconstruct his life as a husband and father. Waa-Nibe, Making Out Road, and even Josefa, whom Carson was married to for twenty-five years, left little evidence behind; Simmons gathered "all available fragments from the documentary record" to flesh out their lives and create a more well rounded portrait of Carson (145).

Peter S. Petersen's Memoirs Edited by John W. Nielsen in cooperation with Karsten

Kjer Michaelsen (Blair, Nebraska: Lur Publications, 2003. xii + 248 pp. \$27.50.)

Originally published in Danish in 1999, *Peter S. Petersen's Memoirs* details Petersen's childhood in Denmark and on the Nebraska plains, his experiences as a railroad worker and laborer in Wyoming, and subsequent work as a storekeeper and treasurer of a bank. A resident of Dannebrog, Nebraska, for much of his life, Petersen references not only local events and people, including the formation of towns, churches, and schools, but also mentions presidential elections and the effect of the 1890s depression on himself and his town. His depiction of "race wars" in Rock Springs, Wyoming, the formation of a Danish Lodge in Rock Springs and Dannebrog, employment in a bank during the depression, and his marriage to a Danish woman lend color to his account.

Scenes of Visionary Enchantment: Reflections on Lewis and Clark By Dayton

Duncan (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004. x + 202 pp. \$ 22.00.)

In his introduction, Duncan notes that this collection of essays, many of which were originally speeches he gave along the Lewis and Clark trail, "in a certain sense follows Lewis and Clark to the Pacific Ocean and back" (x). This collection is part history, trail diary, and an account of Duncan's own journeys along the historic trail. A sampling of the chapters includes, "An Unsatisfied Curiosity," "Of Hearths and Home," "Toilsome Days and Wristless Nights," and "The Lewis and Clark Guide to Leadership." Duncan recounts the story of his favorite characters, places, and events from the Corps of Discovery's journey, highlighting the expedition's contribution to nineteenth century Americans' knowledge of ethnology and native tribes, plant and animal species, and the layout of the land and its rivers.

The Invisible Empire in the West: Toward a New Historical Appraisal of the Ku Klux Klan of the 1920s Edited by Shawn Lay (1992; reprint, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004. xii + 230 pp. \$20.00.)

Originally reviewed in the Winter 1993 issue of the *Utah Historical Quarterly*, this new paperback edition is a collection of eight articles on the history of the 1920s Ku Klux Klan. The essays discuss Klan activities in Denver, El Paso, Anaheim, Le Grande and Eugene, Oregon, and Salt Lake City, and highlight the Klan's recruitment tactics, organizational structure, role as a fraternal organization, and success in politics. (University of Utah history professor Larry R. Gerlach wrote the chapter on Klan activities in Salt Lake City.) Although the authors don't come to a consensus about the role of the Klan in the 1920s, they agree that the Klan was not a fringe group entirely devoted to vigilante violence, although this was certainly an important function of the Klan. Instead, members of each klavern were drawn from a wide cross section of the population and had the flexibility to focus on important local issues. Members "discussed local problems, formulated plans of action, and vigorously pursued their social and political agendas" (220). These agendas covered a wide range of concerns and issues including anti-Catholicism, Protestant control of schools, immigration restriction, Prohibition enforcement, improved social morality and governmental accountability.

Wagon Tracks: George Harter's 1864 Journey to California Edited by Robert D. Harter (Tucson: The Patrice Press, 2003. xv + 129 pp. Paper, \$20.95.)

This brief diary of George Harter and his journey from Michigan to California via Salt Lake City and the Overland Stage Road in 1864 has long been held in the family. Upon discovery of the diary, Robert D. Harter, a family member, decided to retrace his forebearers journey incorporating Harter's diary with his own explanation and description of Harter's journey. Contains photographs and colored maps of George Harter's trek.

Foreigners in Their Native Land: Historical Roots of the Mexican Americans
Edited by David J. Weber (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003,
Anniversary Edition. xxiv + 292 pp. \$ 21.95.)

Originally published in 1973, *Foreigners in Their Natives Land* is a collection of introductory essays and primary documents that describe Mexican

American life in the Southwest from the late sixteenth to the early twentieth century and deal with themes of racism, the clash between Mexican and American culture, citizenship, accommodation, assimilation, and resistance. This thirtieth anniversary edition is supplemented with a new forward by Arnolde de León and a new afterword by the author.

The Polygamists: A History of Colorado City, Arizona By Benjamin G. Bistline

(Scottsdale, Arizona: Agreka, LLC., 2004. 432 pp. \$26.95.)

The Polygamists by Benjamin G. Bistline, a lifelong, non-polygamist resident of Colorado City is a collection of reminiscences, letters, journal entries, documents, and court documents regarding polygamy, the Fundamentalist LDS Church, the United Effort Plan, and virtually all aspects of life in Colorado City. The author traces the history of fundamentalist polygamy and the Colorado settlement from the late nineteenth century to early 2004 in an attempt to “dispel the lies, reveal the truth as it was from the beginning, and help the polygamist members regain control over their own lives and property” (9). Bistline argues that the only way to stop “abuses” in Colorado City, which he sees as “extortion, exploiting and destroying the lives of teenage girls, income tax violations, money laundering, and overall fraudulent activities,” is to decriminalize polygamy (413).

The Colorado Plateau: Cultural, Biological, and Physical Research Edited by

Charles van Riper III and Kenneth L. Cole (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2004.

xii + 280 pp. Cloth \$32.50.)

The Colorado Plateau is a collection of twenty-three articles originally presented at the Sixth Biennial Conference of Research on the Colorado Plateau, held at Northern Arizona University in 2001. Written by scientists from federal and state agencies, as well as various universities and the private sector, the articles focus on cultural, biological, and physical resources of the Colorado Plateau, which encompasses parts of Arizona, Utah, Colorado, and New Mexico. Particularly of interest to Utah readers, chapters two and three discuss “patterns of human activity” found in the archaeological record of Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument and the impact of current visitors on the monument, and suggests ways to decrease the human impact on this site.

Ruins and Rivals: The Making of Southwest Archeology By James E. Snead

(Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2003. xxvi + 227 pp. \$17.95.)

In *Ruins and Rivals*, James E. Snead investigates the interaction between scholars and the public, and the influences of patronage, professionalism, and rationale on archaeology in an effort to tell the history of archaeology in the Southwest. Snead argues that the history of archaeology in the region is competitive, and discusses how “broad cultural processes and attitudes toward the past were expressed and interpreted by different communities, often in opposition to each other, producing a frame of reference for the southwestern past” that still influences archeology today (xxii). Chapter titles include “Relic Hunters and Museum Men: Southwest Archaeology in the Late Nineteenth Century,” “‘Fires of Jealousy and Spite:’ The Hyde Exploring Expedition and its Competitors,” and “Archaeology as Heritage: The Pajarito Summer Sessions.”

Gateways to the Southwest: The Story of Arizona State Parks By Jay M. Price

(Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2004. xx + 233 pp. Cloth \$45.00.)

In *Gateways to the Southwest*, Jay M. Price outlines the creation of the Arizona State Parks system and how they have been shaped by the expansion of tourism in the 1950s and 1960s, the environmental movement and the influence of then Arizona Governor Bruce Babbitt in the 1970s and 1980s, and under funding and financial difficulties in the 1990s. Arizonans became interested in establishing a system of state parks in the 1950s because of postwar “economic expansion, boom in outdoor recreation, and growing concern over the loss of cultural and natural resources” (13). Because many of the most significant historic and natural resources sites were owned or managed by cities, counties, the federal government, or private citizens at that late date, Arizona State Parks developed varied partnerships with these groups to establish its parks system. The author also includes discussions of profitable lake-based recreation, the expense and difficulty of purchasing land for state parks, and offers a redefinition of state parks in Arizona.

Glen Canyon Dammed: Inventing Lake Powell and the Canyon Country

By Jared Farmer (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1999. Paperback 2004.

xxvii + 270 pp. \$17.95.)

In *Glen Canyon Dammed*, Jared Farmer outlines the transformation of Glen Canyon into Lake Powell. He focuses on the history of the “canyon

country,” its exploration, efforts to conserve Glen Canyon, the controversial dam that created Lake Powell, and the subsequent emergence of Lake Powell and the canyon country as a major tourist area. Originally reviewed in the Spring 2000 issue of the *Utah Historical Quarterly*.

Castle Valley Pageant History By Montell Seely and Kathryn Seely (Castle Dale: privately published, 2003. vi + 440 pp. \$30.00.)

With an unforgettably dramatic setting on a hillside that overlooks Castle Valley and the San Rafael Swell, the Castle Valley Pageant, held in late July and early August, depicts the story of Sanpete Valley residents called by Brigham Young in 1877 to move east across the mountains and settle in Castle Valley along the streams that form the San Rafael River. Richly illustrated with color photographs, the history includes twenty-five chapters that highlight the events, challenges, changes, and developments of each year from the first pageant in 1978 to 2002. Using diary excerpts, correspondence, and first hand knowledge, the Seely's have provided a remarkable and unique social history of an important undertaking and celebration of history in one rural Utah area in the last quarter of the twentieth century.

Recollections of a Handcart Pioneer of 1860: A Woman's Life on the Mormon Frontier By Mary Ann Hafen (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004. xvi + 100 pp. \$8.95.)

Born in 1854 near Bern, Switzerland, Mary Ann Stucki traveled with her parents to Utah in 1860 walking from Florence, Nebraska, to Salt Lake City with the Stoddard Handcart Company. The family was part of the Swiss Company sent to Santa Clara in 1861. She married John George Hafen in 1873 as his second wife and continued to live in Santa Clara until 1891 when she and her five children were moved to Bunkerville, Nevada. In 1938 she wrote this account of her life with the encouragement of two eminent western historians—her son, LeRoy Hafen, and granddaughter, Juanita Brooks. The small volume has become a classic first-hand account of the Mormon immigrant experience from Switzerland, the 1860 handcart journey, life in the pioneer settlements of southern Utah, and one families experience with plural marriage. This edition, the seventh printing since 1938, includes an introduction by Donna Toland Smart.

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The Utah State Historical Society was organized in 1897 by public-spirited Utahns to collect, preserve, and publish Utah and related history. Today, under state sponsorship, the Society fulfills its obligations by publishing the *Utah Historical Quarterly* and other historical materials; collecting historic Utah artifacts; locating, documenting, and preserving historic and prehistoric buildings and sites; and maintaining a specialized research library. Donations and gifts to the Society's programs, museum, or its library are encouraged, for only through such means can it live up to its responsibility of preserving the record of Utah's past.

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